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SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
ON  
THE HOMELESS POOR.

EVIDENCE TAKEN JANUARY 30, 1891.

*Present*—MR. J. H. ALLEN, *in the Chair*.

Mr. R. A. VALPY.

Rev. E. C. HAWKINS.

Rev. W. H. HUNT.

Mr. E. BARNARD.

Mr. W. E. FRANKS.

„ A. J. MADDISON.

„ H. C. BOURNE.

„ H. STAPYLTON.

Miss TILLARD.

„ A. DUNN GARDNER.

MR. SIMMONS.

*(Examined by Mr. J. H. ALLEN, Chairman.)*

1. You are an inspector of casual wards under the Local Government Board?—I am superintendent of the visiting officers of casual wards.

2. Have you been long in the office?—Yes.

3. How long?—Ten years.

4. I understand that your duty is to visit—to tell the inspectors under your charge to visit and make reports to the Local Government Board. Is that so?—Yes.

4A. Is there any other duty?—I inspect all casual wards.

5. In the report that you make do you give the numbers of persons that are in casual wards every night, every week, or every month?—I make a report every day of the number in each casual ward the night previous.

6. Is that report sent in every day?—No, once a week. I have reports from the officers weekly and send in my report weekly.

7. Of course, I may tell you that in an inquiry like this it is very important for us to know what is the number of homeless people in London. Will your report give the number of those in casual wards, or does it include only habitual vagrants?—Yes, they are all included. There is no distinction made.

8. Your report will not give us information as to habitual tramps?—I should not like to say; I put them down myself at about 250 in all the London casual wards.

9. That is thorough habituals who live in them continuously?—If we miss a man, we expect he has gone to prison.

10. Mr. BOURNE: That is in Metropolitan casual wards.

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*By the CHAIRMAN.*

11. You put the number down at 250?—Yes, that is as near as I can give it.

12. Then as to those who go in and sometimes do a day's work, sleeping in lodging-houses?—I cannot give any number of those. I could give you the number of persons that go into casual wards in twelve months.

13. Have you the return here?—Yes.

14. Could you give us that return?—Yes. (*Handed return to Chairman covering the years 1882-90.*)

15. In 1882 the number is 294,960. If that number is divided by 365, would it give the number admitted nightly? Would it give the number of casuals in London in and out?—Very near, I think, sir.

16. Perhaps you will leave us this paper, will you?—Yes.

17. I have been told that a number of casuals admitted are really tramps seeking work?—Yes, but they do not exceed 4,000.

18. You see the highest number taken in one week is very little over 1,000?—I know, but there are women as well, and then there are others who may go in once and not again.

19. Would 4,000 be a very outside figure?—I should think it would.

20. To Mr. BOURNE: I give them all—men and women.

Mr. HAWKINS remarked that it was a bare guess.

*By the CHAIRMAN.*

21. Have you anything to do with the class of persons who go in, that is as to their position?—No, sir, we make no inquiries of them.

22. There is no inquiry made?—I used to make inquiries when visiting, and ask the man where he had left, what he had been, and so on; but I invariably found that they did not tell me the truth.

23. During the ten years that you have been superintendent do you find that any improvement has taken place? Are they the same class?—They are a very different class to what they were nineteen years ago, a different class of people altogether.

24. What was the class nineteen years ago?—Very rough and different to deal with altogether.

25. What is the class now?—There is no difficulty in dealing with the regular tramp, to get him to do his work. He is generally quiet and well behaved in the tramp ward.

26. Mr. FRANKS: Do these people come from the country?—We very seldom meet with real Londoners. They were mostly born in the country.

*By the CHAIRMAN.*

27. Now, Mr. Simmons, there are something like nine refuges in London—private refuges. Do you think it would be any advantage if you co-operated with the refuges, making first of all an investigation in different cases, and then sending the respectable cases to the refuges and keeping the regular tramp in the casual ward?—No, I do not think so. It was tried very much in 1887 and 1888.

28. Where was it tried?—St. Giles and Wallis Yard. It was in the time of Trafalgar Square.

29. You do not think that co-operation between the casual wards and



the refuges in London would be of any sort of use?—I do not think it would.

30. Do you think it possible that there should be any investigation as to the status and position of those unfortunate people living in casual wards? Would it be possible?—It has been tried—very hard. But there are some that I recollect. I think out of 250 they used to give tickets to at St. Giles, there are one or two——

31. Mr. VALPY said he had full particulars of that matter which he gave to the Committee of the House of Lords on Poor Law Relief.

32. Do you think it would be a good plan if all casual wards were abolished and people had to go into the workhouse instead? Have you heard that the St. George's (Hanover Square) Board of Guardians have decided to ask the Local Government Board to do away with their casual ward?—No, I have not, but a short time ago the City of London Guardians applied for theirs to be done away with. I should think it would be better than casual wards.

*By the Rev. H. HAWKINS.*

33. Would you advise that in the case of the City of London casual ward, the workhouse being five miles from the casual ward and out in the country?—I should think not, because they would apply to the Relieving Officer in the morning.

34. Do you not think it would give very great stimulus to the opening of voluntary refuges?—There is not the least doubt about it.

*By the CHAIRMAN.*

35. Still on the whole it is your opinion that it would be an advantage?—I must qualify this. You must first get an Act of Parliament to detain them in the workhouse, or you will turn them into casual wards, or nearly so.

36. In some of our workhouses we have not sufficient room?—Yes, sir.

*By Mr. HAWKINS.*

37. But do you think it advisable, where the casual ward is as far away from the workhouse as Hackney or Homerton, that they should be abolished?—I do not know, for in that case if you closed the City ward people would not go to the City, they would go to other wards.

38. If casual wards are closed it must be on an uniform system?—There is not the least doubt that it would make a very great difference if that were so.

39. Here the CHAIRMAN quoted from the returns put in by the witness of the reduction of the number of casuals since 1883, when the detention order passed.

40. Witness remarked: I said that after the Trafalgar Square camp was broken up it would take five years to reduce them to what they were in 1886. 110 common lodging-houses were closed in 1887, they had no one to go there.

41. Mr. VALPY: They were closed in consequence of the demolitions in St. Giles and elsewhere.

42. Mr. SIMMONS continued, saying: There is not the least doubt that people driven into casual wards in 1887–8 were principally from the lowest class of lodging-houses. They were not tramps. There were Wallis Yard, Vine Street, and St. Giles, where they were giving away 250

tickets a night. I knew from good information they were selling these tickets for 2*d.* and later for 1*d.* each.

*By* Rev. E. C. HAWKINS.

43. This Detention Act having worked so well, do you think it would be any advantage if they detained for six days? Would improvement go on in the same ratio?—The difficulty is this: they are not detained in all the wards. Three of them do not detain them, viz.: City, Whitechapel, and Hart Street. That is the encouragement. A vagrant will be met successively at these three wards. They all know the wards where they are liable to be detained.

44. All your evidence points to an organised uniform system?—Yes, that is what it wants.

44A. Have you any other idea on the subject of the reform of these casual wards?—No, I cannot make any good of them—no one can. I will just give you an instance. There were 39 tramps going to be discharged at 11 o'clock. An employer of labour came to see them, and asked them if they wanted work. Yes, they all said. Well, I have got a job at 3*s.* 6*d.* a day. I will give you a pot of beer and bread and cheese before you start, another for your dinner, and 3*s.* 6*d.* for your day's work. Not one of these men went near the place.

45. You say you would like an uniform system of treatment. Would you advocate that this uniform system should be carried out by a special Board constituted for that purpose?—It would be much preferable to what it is now, because you can scarcely get two Boards of Guardians of the same opinion.

46. Rev. W. H. HUNT (*Church Army*): It rather struck me when he was speaking of the selection of casuals that it was of more value than seemed to be set upon it. There are some casuals who just go in for a night to whom such a plan would be of some help. We have had a few such cases.

It was tried and failed, said Mr. SIMMONS.

47. Mr. VALPY remarked: I do not say it failed, because we were able to deal with some five or six cases.

48. Mr. HAWKINS: I sometimes visit our casual ward, once, at least, a week, and make a point of selecting anybody that looks at all helpful; but many promise to come (to the office of the City Charity Organisation Committee) who do not come. I was there on Thursday, when I told five to come, but only two of them did so. One of these we sent to the Church Army. There are a great number of old soldiers amongst them. They have all lost their discharges. Two, a soldier and a sailor, I found had really lost their discharges. We disposed of the old soldier and got him a place in a carrier's yard. We got a berth immediately for the sailor. I do think that men might do very good work indeed with these, and if not in all, with as many as possible.

49. The CHAIRMAN: My experience is I never can get hold of them.

*By* Mr. FRANKS (*Houseless Poor Asylum*).

50. As far as I can understand, you have never once found any but tramps who would go to a casual ward?—Yes, unless at such a time as the building of the Tilbury Docks, for example.



51. In your experience hardly any of them will go to work?—They all tell you they are looking for work, but they have found none much as they want it.

*By Mr. STAPYLTON.*

52. Is it not the practice of the Local Government Board to make regulations as to detention?—Yes.

53. When the refuges are all open is there any decrease in the number at the casual wards?—Not the slightest, nor any increase when the refuges close.

54. But your inspectors differ?—Yes. I go by the numbers admitted every year, and I get the number admitted every month from every casual ward in the metropolis.

55. Do you think the officers are recognised by the men?—Well, the officer is here, he will tell you how he has been recognised.

56. Is there a further cause for there not being any decrease in the number in casual wards or any increase?—I do not think it makes any difference.

57. Miss TILLARD: Is it not because generally the refuges are closed in the summer and the casual ward people begin to go away in the spring?—I do not think that sufficiently accounts for it.

*By Mr. VALPY.*

58. Are the police admitted to the casual wards for the purposes of identification?—No.

59. So that when a man gets in a casual ward he is safe from the policeman?—Unless the policeman knows he is there.

60. But the policeman would not be entitled to go and search?—I do not expect he would be denied.

61. Can you account for the distinct class inhabiting casual wards? Can you suggest any reasons why they take to casual wards instead of the refuges?—Yes, because there is better accommodation than in refuges. In casual wards a man gets a nice hot bath and a heated place to labour in; his clothes are taken away, and he receives a pint of gruel and six ounces of bread, and he gets for dinner bread and cheese—some supply soup, some broth.

62. So that you would not be inclined to agree with some people who say that a casual ward is worse than a prison?—No, I should not.

63. You are aware of the order of the Local Government Board against wayfarers being detained?—That was at the time of the Tilbury Docks. If I see a genuine man, I do not point him out. He would not be detained over two nights, but would be let out at six o'clock. I will tell you an instance that will explain the difficulty. Here are three men, perfect strangers, never been in a casual ward before. You need not take their names. I make it a rule to take the names of all, directly I know them to be habitual tramps. Now how are you to tell?

64. Is it possible to tell?—I do not believe it is.

65. Do you know anything of the attempt that was made at Wandsworth some years ago to deal with these tramps?—No, sir, I do not.

65A. Do you know anything about Wandsworth? Are there an immense number of casuals there?—No, sir. Not near so many as there are at other wards.

66. Lewisham—are there many there?—No, not a great many. That

is one very outside place. There are places where you will catch working men. Most at Hampstead or Paddington.

67. Assuming that four or five per cent. are capable of being reclaimed, would you be in favour of people visiting casual wards regularly, for the purpose of trying to save these people?—I should. It would be a very good thing.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

68. At the time in the spring when the refuges are closed, you do not notice in the casual wards a large number of fresh cases?—No, sir; there are a few without friends who always go to refuges.

69. You say that at the City, Hart Street, and Whitechapel they do not detain them?—No, it is not fair at all.

70. You say the regular tramp is respectably behaved? Are many of them drunkards?—Not a great many—mostly women.

71. Should you say that many of them are sons of tramps?—No, I should not think so.

72. But they have been inmates since they have been comparatively young?—Yes, I think there are some. I have never missed them away from the tramp ward except for two or three weeks.

73. You are of opinion that many are people broken down from drink?—I always put it down to laziness and drink.

74. And they like the bath?—Yes.

MR. VICK.

*(Examined by the CHAIRMAN.)*

75. You are a Local Government Board Visitor?—Yes, Visiting Officer.

76. How long have you been inspector?—Eighteen years last July.

77. And your duty is to go round to the different casual wards and make returns of the number of homeless persons in the wards?—Yes.

78. And, further than that, it is your duty, when you come across habitual tramps, to detain them for three days?—Yes. Every person that I see in a casual ward twice during a month has to stop for three days.

79. There are, I think, four visiting officers—three besides yourself? Five in all, including the Superintendent?—Yes.

80. Is that number sufficient?—Yes.

81. Have you any idea—can you tell what the number of habitual tramps in London are?—No. They have been about for years. They are off occasionally. I cannot give you any accurate idea. There are two or three thousand pass through every year. I have returned over 120, 130, and 140, and as many as 150 in one week. Perhaps I have seen 400 or 500.

82. Supposing you were asked, would you say 250 or 300 at the present time of habitual tramps in London?—There would be that in London, but in my return I do not suppose I should return so many in one week. We should each return 80 or 90 weekly, taking the year through.

83. But from your knowledge would you say there would be 250?—More than that—as many as 500.

84. Not a thousand?—No, I should think not. When the new Act came in authorising their detention for three days a great many of them left.

85. Supposing we put the number at 500, what would you put down the number of homeless persons in London?—I could not tell.



86. Should you say there are 4,000?—You see there are so many who go to lodging-houses when they get 4*d.* You may call them homeless. They are people without homes. If they have not got 4*d.* they are without a home directly.

87. You cannot give the Committee any idea as to the number? You would consider there were not more than 4,000?—No, I should fancy not.

88. What class of persons do you usually come across? Are they respectable working men?—No, very few.

89. Do you ever come across respectable working men looking for work?—There are a few, but not many.

90. Would you say about five in every hundred?—So few it is not worth taking note of them.

91. During the nineteen years that you have been visiting casual wards have you known any improvement, or are they the same class?—About the same?

92. They do not give you any trouble, I understand?—Sometimes. The men who visit casual wards regularly do not give trouble unless they want to be locked up. Some prefer prison.

93. But the instances are very few?—Not many.

94. Now this Detention Act came into force in 1882, I think. Do you think it has been of great advantage?—It has driven a lot of the old hands out of the casual wards.

95. But then you have got new ones?—Yes, fresh ones come in.

96. Do you think these three days' detention a sufficient deterrent?—No, it is not. They are in distress—they must have shelter, and they are obliged to put up with it.

97. So that if there were six days it would be just the same?—Yes.

98. With regard to the refuges, do you know anything about them?—No, sir. I only know what I have been told. They come in from Gen. Booth's places lousy.

99. Do you think it would be possible to reclaim them in the slightest degree?—I do not suppose you would get one out of fifty, especially those that have been tramps for any length of time.

100. Do you think it would be advantageous if you did come across any fairly respectable people to send them on to the refuges, that they might deal with them in a more sympathetic manner?—Yes, thus if a person is out of work, or something happened to him, or if he only wanted shelter for a night, such assistance would do him good.

101. But as you do not investigate cases you do not know?—No, sir.

102. Mr. VALPY: Have you any idea how these casual wards could be improved?—No, I have no idea at all. Thus when a man comes in there is a certain class of work to do and they must do it, and they know they must do it. If they could possibly get out of the work they would.

103. CHAIRMAN: Some people have said that a casual ward is worse than a prison. Do you think they consider it so?—No, not many of them. I have known that when they learn they would be kept in all day Sunday they have preferred going to a casual ward instead of a lodging-house. In the lodging-houses they make such a disturbance on Saturday, and there are people who wish to be quiet.

*By* Miss TILLARD.

104. Do you find men who live in casual wards go into common lodging-houses in the summer?—Yes.

105. When they get jobs of work?—Yes.

106. You do not notice any difference when the refuges are closed. Do you think there are more in the casual wards then?—No, I think not. In the summer time, when the weather is fine, there are numbers about the streets at night, and their object is going about to see what they can plunder.

107. Do you have many boys under 18?—We have had several from 14 to 18 and 19.

108. Don't you think efforts ought to be made to rescue them? Could not something be done for these?—Yes, I should think so, if they could be sent away from the casual ward.

109. Are they thoroughly bad boys?—Some of the boys are bad, some have left their homes, some have been country boys come to London with no relations, and no one to look after them, who have drifted into casual wards. I have advised them to go back again as they have no friends in London.

*By* MR. STAPYLTON.

110. How long have you visited Newport Market Refuge, Coburg Row?—About six weeks.

111. Have you met casuals there?—Yes, a few.

112. And what has been done—turned out or allowed to remain?—I do not know what has been done.

113. It has been said that they prefer casual wards to refuges? Do you think this is so?—No, they would rather have the refuges. There is no work for them there.

114. You are of a different opinion then?—I know they prefer the refuges, and would not go into a casual ward if they could get into a refuge.

115. But then they have no bath. Do you think that accounts for the preference?—No, where they can get their lodging, food, and out in the morning, and do no work.

*By* REV. W. H. HUNT.

116. You have had some experience of common lodging-houses as a policeman?—Yes.

117. Are common lodging-house men men who go into refuges?—I do not know, I am sure, because when I was in the police I never knew anything about casual wards. I have been out of the force 21 or 22 years.

118. Do you think that the men who live in lodging-houses are working men, or do they make their living by their wits?—The lodging-houses were about Pye Street, Westminster, about the worst part of London, and are the lowest in London. Sometimes I used to make it my business to go in to see who were there. There is Macklin Street. That was rough. When they had not got their money, the common lodging-house keeper said, 'Go to the casual ward.' When they have been to the casual ward sometimes he has taken them in, and sometimes refused them. If you have not got 4*d.* the common lodging-house keeper does not want you.

*By* MR. FRANKS.

119. What has become of these old tramps that I understand you to say have disappeared since the Detention order came into force?—Principally I think they go into the workhouses in the winter, when the weather gets better they turn out,



120. I think you said these men prefer a refuge to the casual ward?—You do not get those rough ones.

121. I put the question to show that the refuges do not tempt this kind of man. That means are taken to avoid any such men being admitted into refuges.—Since I have been down to Coburg Row I have never seen any there. It is only those who visit casual wards occasionally.

122. Have you visited any other refuge?—No, that is the only one.

123. You have not been to Banner Street?—No.

123A. Then with regard to the condition in which many of these people come into the casual ward. Where do they come from?—Mr. Booth's refuges.

124. You do not suppose them to come from any other?—I only know what they say.

125. I suppose you know that at Refuges—I speak especially of Banner Street—all these men pass before a doctor? You are not aware that this is usual?—I only know what the men say.

126. Rev. W. H. HUNT said some of them who had come from General Booth's shelter were refused admission to the Church Army Labour Home because they were so lousy.

127. Mr. VALPY: You said there are a certain number of common lodging-house inmates who resort to the casual wards. Can you give any reason why they select one rather than the other?—In casual wards cleanliness is in every respect an attraction. It is not oftentimes they can get that accommodation, so they often go into casual wards to get clean—their clothes are baked.

128. The Rev. W. H. HUNT remarked that this was the first thing the Church Army did.

129. Mr. FRANKS said he understood that a good many men went to casual wards to get a bath.

*By Mr. VALPY.*

130. Do you often find money on them?—Yes, sometimes.

131. What do you do with it?—It is generally returned. If they have 4*d.* they are not taken in. We take none away. It is not a fact that anything is taken from the men. The Guardians can give permission for it to be kept or returned, but in most cases 2*d.* or 3*d.* is returned. It has been taken away from them and not returned. That has been by order of the Guardians.

132. Is that the practice now?—No, I think money is returned to them.

132A. Are the casual wards in London all on the separate cell system?—No, sir, not all. I think about six have open wards.

133. Which do the tramps prefer?—They prefer open wards. Where they get locked up singly and kept in all day on Sunday it is rather hard for them.

134. Which is the best system?—Well, my opinion would be some cells and some open.

135. To give a man a choice?—The cells are like prison work.

136. Do you find that those casual wards which are on the separate cell system are more frequented than the others?—No, not so much.

136A. Open wards are more frequented?—Yes.

*By Mr. MADDISON.*

137. I think you said there are about 10 per cent. of those in casual wards who are working men out of work? Can you suggest any way

in which these can be rescued?—If some one was there to take them away, it might perhaps do some of them good; some I think are right and some wrong. The difficulty would be to find them out.

138. If an agent was appointed to visit, would he be supplied with information?—I should think the superintendent would have no objection to give information.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

139. You think there are two distinct classes, casual ward classes and refuge classes? One class prefers casual wards and another refuges?—There are a lot of strangers coming to London who know nothing about it. They get told by others, you may go to such and such a place; it may be a lodging-house or it may be a casual ward.

140. Should you say that many of the regular frequenters of casual wards are drunkards?—Oh, yes, the biggest part of them. They have been something better; some have been brought up as clerks and well to do. Drink as a rule has been the cause.

141. The majority have been something better, not merely being constitutionally lazy from the first?—Some have been better off, but have broken down through some failure.

142. Would you say more than half of them were broken down?—Some have never seen better days. They have not been brought up at all, they have been dragged up.

143. Would you say that about half of them have been brought down through drink and dishonesty?—Yes.

144. Mr. FRANKS: Might it not be that misery leads to drink, not always drink to misery?—There are plenty of instances of both. It does not do to lump them all together, a very large number do and vice versa.

145. Mr. VALPY: Is it the practice for a casual to be referred to the casual ward by the Relieving Officer or policeman, or is he admitted on his own application?—That is in the Act, but as a matter of fact they apply themselves. At this time of the year they apply at four o'clock, in the summer after five. Their names are taken down and certain particulars entered in a book.—(*e.g.*) their name, occupation, calling, where they slept last night, where they are going, if they have money. These are the principal things asked.

146. Miss TILLARD: Directly a name is given do not many of the men take it up? For instance, if a man says he comes from or is going to Tottenham, others say the same?—If they give false names they are liable to be charged before a magistrate, but as a fact they often do it.

147. Rev. E. C. HAWKINS: Is the true criminal class to be found in casual wards?—There are not many notorious thieves in casual wards.

148. By criminal class, I mean professional robbers and plunderers?—They do not come in, they know better.



EVIDENCE TAKEN FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1891.

*Present*—MR. J. H. ALLEN, *in the Chair*.

Mr. W. E. FRANKS.	Mr. R. A. VALPY.
Miss H. L. HAMILTON (for	„ A. J. MADDISON.
Rev. W. H. Hunt).	„ A. DUNN GARDNER.
Mr. H. C. BOURNE.	„ H. STAPYLTON.
„ E. A. HANKEY.	„ C. S. LOCH.
Miss TILLARD.	„ G. E. P. GASKELL, <i>Secretary</i> .

MR. ELKERTON (*Master of St. George's (Hanover Square) Workhouse*).

(*Examined by the CHAIRMAN.*)

149. What is your position, Mr. Elkerton?—Master of the Workhouse, St. George's, Hanover Square.

150. Have you been long Master of the Workhouse?—I have been seventeen years with the Guardians, seven years Master, and previously as Relieving Officer.

151. What we are inquiring more especially about now are homeless cases in reference to the casual wards. Has the workhouse anything to do with the casual ward?—It is at the workhouse—part of the workhouse.

152. You are in fact superintendent?—Yes.

153. It is very important to get at the number of what may be called habitual vagrants. Have you any figures that you could give us?—I have the figures for one week taken from the return sent in to the Local Government Board last November.

154. What were the totals?—They were 121 admitted. Of these 42 were frequently in our casual ward, 55 had been there occasionally, and 24 were not identified.

155. Can you leave us that paper?—I am afraid this paper would not be much good to you. It consists simply of a few notes.

156. Then the great majority of the inmates of your casual ward that week are what may be called habitual vagrants?—One third quite.

157. Mr. BOURNE: Males and females?—Yes.

*By the CHAIRMAN.*

158. The number of females and children is very small?—Yes.

159. Are you ever obliged to turn applicants away for want of room — Yes, a great many of the men.

160. Do you ever turn away women and children?—Never.

161. Is that the practice all over London?—I do not know.

162. When they are turned away what do you say to them?—Well, we simply tell them that the ward is full. They take that as an answer and go. If they ask, we advise them to go to St. Giles', where there is usually room, or to go to the Relieving Officer.

163. How far is it from your place to St. Giles'?—About a mile and a half.

164. It would not be an out-of-the-way walk?—No, not for the men. If a man says he cannot walk, we investigate the case further.

165. Well, do these men feel disappointed at being turned away?—We very seldom have any trouble. I think they recognise that we never turn them away if there is room.

166. Do you ever direct them to refuges?—No.

167. Don't you think it would be good to do so?—We have no refuge very near except Newport Market Refuge, and they lay themselves out for the better class. We have no big refuge that takes in indiscriminately.

168. Are the class of people generally fairly respectable, working-class people, people that do no work, or what is the class?—Well, the big proportion are habitual casuals, of the remainder a few appear to be men who would take work if they could get it.

169. What would you say was the percentage of *bonâ fide* working men?—I should fix it rather low.

170. Five per cent.?—I should think that would be somewhere about the mark.

171. Do you think there would be any prospect of reforming any number of these men and getting them to take up a different kind of life if visitors were allowed?—It would depend upon what facilities the visitors had for giving them a start.

172. You know it was tried?—Yes, but those visitors had no facilities.

173. Do you mean money?—No, I mean of finding the men work.

174. You think that would be the proper way—of finding them employment?—A few would stay, but not many. They would simply be out of work again next week. Many of them are mentally incapable of earning their living.

175. Do you think drink brings them to the casual ward?—Every case that I have spoken to of a superior sort—who seems above the general class—I think without exception has always ascribed his downfall to drink.

176. Are they young men or middle-aged men chiefly?—Well, the average would be from 25 to 45. We don't get many above that I believe.

177. The old people go into the workhouse?—Yes.

178. Do you ever have any very young lads—under 20?—A few.

179. Now I take it these would be the persons whom there might be a chance of reforming?—The younger they are the better chance there should be. But as far as behaviour goes, some of them are worse than the old ones.

180. What class are they? Have they been brought up in the workhouse schools, or have they been brought up to the casual ward by their parents?—I do not think there is any great number who come from the workhouse schools.

181. Have you any discharged soldiers?—A great many. I should think that of the men under 40 fully half have been in the army.



182. Are they men who have got a good discharge?—Well that is a question I fear I cannot go into very much. They say they cannot get employment.

183. Should you think that was a true statement?—I should hardly like to say.

184. There is no reason why a soldier whose time is up should not enlist again?

Mr. BOURNE explained in answer to this question that a soldier, after receiving his deferred pay, cannot re-enlist without refunding it.

*By the CHAIRMAN.*

185. Then you do not think there would be much chance of reforming many of these people?—A few perhaps, but the greater part have sunk through drink.

186. Are there many young clerks amongst your inmates?—No, it is very rare that anyone describes himself as a clerk. Labourers principally.

187. Do you think that it would be advantageous if the casual ward was done away with and everybody sent to the workhouse?—I don't see quite what could take the place of the casual ward. You will always have a body of men getting into the street as soon as possible, and they can get out of the workhouse on giving 24 hours notice. My personal opinion is that it would be better to have a few casual wards instead of so many, so that habitual casuals could be identified and detained.

188. Supposing you had only a few, would not there be a difficulty in getting all these fellows housed for the night. Some would be quite full, some partly full, some empty?—You will find that it is only the casual wards in Central London that get full, Hackney is only an exceptional one.

189. Do you think that admission should be managed by the Guardians?—I think the whole of the casual wards should be under one management.

190. The question is whether by the Guardians or by a Central Board independent of the Guardians?—As far as my Board are concerned I do not see that there would be any advantage in taking it away from the Guardians.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

191. I think we gathered from what we heard last week that frequenters of these wards may be denominated tramps, habitual tramps?—One third I put it down. That is from the figures I have taken.

192. Because we heard last week from the Inspector of the Local Government Board who was here, that the frequenters of these wards may be designated tramps?—I put a man down as habitual who is constantly at one ward.

193. Then you would call him a tramp?—Yes.

194. A very small percentage of working men come to you?—A very small number.

195. If they come they very soon go away, and do not stop in the casual ward long?—Well, of course, a man could not stop longer than two nights.

*By Mr. GARDNER.*

196. Do you think that any man travelling in search of work would go into a London casual ward?—Well, I can only judge by the fact that we seem to get very few of them.

197. You do not then get many what we may call *bonâ fide* wayfarers?—The only time we get any considerable number is during 'hopping,' and whether they can be considered *bonâ fide* working men I can hardly say.

198. Have you any means of telling whether any proportion of these men are countrymen?—No, the only question we ask them is where they were born, and of course that does not give any reliable evidence.

By Mr. BOURNE.

199. You would say that any man who comes first as a *bonâ fide* workman, and subsequently appears again and again, becomes a tramp?—I have noticed such cases.

200. As a rule I suppose a *bonâ fide* working man in search of work is not seen again?—We have had a good many whom we have never seen again, but you see there are some who begin by merely being unable to get work.

201. And appear again as tramps?—Yes.

By Mr. STAPYLTON.

202. You say you never send anyone to Newport Market Refuge?—That question was in reference I think to when we were full. I send the better class sometimes. I have sent one last week.

203. Do you ask them any questions as they come in, or only take their order from the Relieving Officer?—They do not have orders. We ask them the set questions.

204. Do you ever come across men who have seen better days?—Occasionally, yes.

205. What should you do with that sort of case?—I should be very glad if I knew anywhere to send such a case to get the help he needed, but we have nowhere to send them.

206. Have you ever sent them to the Charity Organisation Society?—No, because the man has nowhere to go while the Charity Organisation Society are making inquiries.

207. But he might go to Newport Market Refuge.

Mr. ELKERTON instanced a case that he had sent to Newport Market only last week. It was that of a butler who had come to grief through drink.

208. I think your numbers have diminished?—Very much. It is more marked in January.

209. Can you account for that?—No, I cannot. In January last year we had 707 applicants; in January this year we had 393 only.

By Mr. BOURNE.

210. Do you feel any certainty in distinguishing a *bonâ fide* working man?—One thing is whether we know the man. If he is a stranger, that gives a feeling in his favour.

211. If he was a new face, and impressed you as a genuine working man in search of work, whom to detain would injure his chance of getting work that day, you would very likely let him out?—If he gave me some special reason, but not if he merely wanted to go roving about.

212. Mr. FRANKS: Is that the general custom?—There is a regulation of the Guardians giving the officers power to use their own judgment.



213. MR. GASKELL : Apart from any regulation by the Guardians, the Superintendent has authority under the Local Government Board orders to let them out in the morning if there is any special reason?—Yes.

*By* Mr. VALPY.

214. At what time would you let these genuine working men out?—I have let them out at five o'clock in the morning.

215. Can you give any reason why these casuals should select St. George's, Hanover Square, in preference to others?—Yes, because the only task we have is oakum picking.

216. And they prefer that to stone breaking?—I suppose so.

217. Is there any difference in the dietary?—The dietary is the same now, because the Local Government Board have made bread and gruel in the morning universal.

218. You said that you occasionally investigate cases. Do your investigations go beyond asking questions?—They do in some cases.

219. Have you communicated with employers?—No, but with friends, and allowed them to remain at the ward until an answer was received.

220. Did Mr. Kitto's Committee visit your casual ward in November 1887?—Yes.

221. Can you tell me during how many weeks that Committee visited?—I should think it must have been nearly two months.

222. The gentlemen of that Committee were assisted, I believe, by Charity Organisation agents, inspectors of casual wards, and others, were they not?—I do not know.

223. And you cannot tell me at all approximately how many casuals they interviewed during the period of their visits?—I am afraid I cannot make more than a rough guess.

224. Would you agree with me if I said that if experienced men, such as Charity Organisation Society agents, inspectors of casual wards, and people of that kind, found that they only succeeded in discovering a very small proportion of helpable people, that it is a matter of extreme difficulty to ascertain who are helpable and who are not?—Yes, there is no doubt it is.

225. Do you find that the casuals at your ward object to a task of work at all?—We often have to charge them with neglecting and refusing their work.

226. Is it your opinion that this task of work is in any degree deterrent?—Certainly. If you had no task of work, you would very soon have a great many more casuals.

227. And the lighter the task, the greater the number in your casual ward is?—Yes.

228. Is your task of work modified in any way in the case of weakly or delicate persons?—In the case of weakly people, the medical officer sees them.

229. Do you find a large number of weakly, delicate people?—I should say that of habitual casuals more than one half were mentally or physically incapable of doing a fair day's work, except it was road sweeping or board carrying.

230. It is your opinion that mental and physical weakness is typical of this class?—Yes.

231. Can you suggest any reason why these frequenters of casual wards

should choose casual wards and not refuges?—I think the accommodation at shelters always has been limited.

232. Well, assuming it is not limited, can you suggest any reason why these people should habitually frequent casual wards when these shelters are open to them?—No.

233. Is it your opinion that there is a distinct class which frequent casual wards?—Oh, yes; there is a distinct class in London who go about from one casual ward to another.

*By Mr. LOCH.*

234. Would you be in favour of visitors going to casual wards, and doing their best to find cases in which something could be done?—Yes, it is a thing I should be very glad to see, if the visitors had something at the back of them.

235. And suppose arrangements were made with the view to inquiries being made at once, there would be no practical difficulty in transferring men to a refuge?—Not the least.

236. When you say 'being backed up,' do you think more is wanted than the endeavour to find work, as is done, I think, in Newport Market Refuge, and obtain help from relations, &c. Is there anything special you think should be done?—A great many of these men who come about to casual wards I think it would be of no use merely to find work for.

237. I am speaking of selected cases?—There would be no difficulty in the selected cases; the thing would be to find them work.

238. But you think there is no special appliance wanted for that?—No, but special arrangements would have to be made by those interested.

239. Is there any complaint made about the bath; do you insist always on its being taken?—Yes.

240. And is there fresh water for each?—Yes.

241. It is taken as a matter of course, and no complaint is made?—No, but there is a little difficulty in getting a man to wash himself properly. He merely wants to wash his hands and face.

242. You mentioned that in one case a man was allowed to remain on. Do you mean beyond the legal time?—Yes.

243. Would there be any difficulty in getting selected men like that to stay?—Of course the proper thing would be to transfer them to the workhouse.

244. Would that be difficult with you? Have you any workhouse near?—They would have to be transferred to the Fulham Road.

245. If it was advisable, it could be arranged?—Yes. In fact, if a man went down to the Relieving Office, and applied for an order, he would probably get it without any difficulty.

246. And with regard to the casual wards. You spoke of the desirability of co-operation and combination. Would it be a convenience if, finding St. George's was full, you could tell people definitely that there was accommodation at St. Giles?—Yes, it would be. In fact, we are able to do that now, as the police have taken it up. Every night we get a telegram from them stating what vacancies there are at St. Giles'.

247. Would there be room up to ten o'clock?—Oh, yes. If they did not fill up between four and five o'clock there would probably be room all night.

248. You mentioned that the numbers admitted to your casual ward were extraordinarily few last month?—Yes.



249. Do you think that is attributable to the fact that, in spite of the cold weather, a good deal of casual employment was obtainable?—I have not been able to see the returns, so do not know whether the decrease was general.

*By Mr. MADDISON.*

250. What questions do you ask?—Age, occupation, where he slept last night, and where he is going.

251. If a case seemed very hopeful would you go further?—Yes. Any information that was thought desirable could be taken. The Guardians could make an order on their responsibility.

252. If any visitors came, the information would be available?—Yes.

253. And with regard to the young people who are troublesome, what are their ages?—Seventeen to 20.

254. Have you had many?—No, not many. During the winter of 1887 there seemed to be gangs of these young fellows going about, but we only get an occasional one now.

255. Do you get many criminals?—We do not know whether they are criminals or not.

256. Mr. FRANKS : Do you notice any difference in their conduct since your appointment?—No.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

257. Were these young fellows you speak of mostly up from the country, do you know?—No, not from the country.

258. When you speak of a distinct class of casual ward people do you mean a class who do not frequent common lodging-houses at all?—I should say they spend nearly all their time in casual wards.

259. Do you know how these men occupy themselves during the day-time when out of the casual ward?—No.

260. How soon do these men usually finish their task?—In time to get out at eight in the morning.

261. They would finish, I suppose, on the previous day; at what time on the previous day?—Between five and six. Those who could finish much earlier dawdle over their task and make it last out. We give them 4 lbs. of oakum to pick.

262. Do you know whether any of the men who come to you are in the habit of going to refuges?—In one or two cases it has come under my notice that men who are good cleaners go into the refuges, and get taken on for cleaning purposes for the winter.

MR. STEWART (*Superintendent of St. Pancras Casual Ward*).

(*Examined by the CHAIRMAN.*)

263. How long have you been superintendent at St. Pancras?—Eighteen years.

264. That was at Bower Cottage?—Yes, I was four years there and fourteen where I am now. Before that I was twenty-four years in the police.

265. Our casual ward at St. Pancras is not on the cell system, I think?—No, on the open system.

266. Do you find that the casualse who regularly frequent there prefer the open system to the cell system?—Oh, yes, sir,

267. With regard to the number that you have, do you consider that they are regular tramps, men who continually go from one ward to another and nowhere else?—Well I should think you might take ten out of every twenty. Half would be habitual tramps, the other half are men, old men from about 56 to 65. They are past work, they would work if they could, but they are past it.

268. But then why don't they go into the workhouse?—Because they like their liberty, their freedom.

269. During the nineteen years you have been there do you see any difference in the quantity or quality of the casuals?—Well, I have. You see there are a great many fresh ones, every year younger ones.

270. What ages would the youngest be?—The majority that I take in are men between the ages of 25 and 45. I have a great number between these ages.

271. Would they be *bond fide* workmen?—They would be considered hearty men—men who ought to get employment.

272. What do you put down as the reason they do not?—They say they cannot find work.

273. Do you think it is through drink?—Well, sir, I can give you an instance. In one or two cases I have been applied to for men to take situations, and I have sent them. I sent three men to Holloway Hall, in the Holloway Road. During the time they were there they certainly behaved very well indeed. They did not stop there above a month, and they came back to me. I asked what was the cause; well, they said, they wanted too much work done, so they left.

274. Well, that does not go to prove they are honest workmen?—No. On another occasion I picked a man out for a situation. He remained for about eighteen months, and he seemed to do very well until he got into bad company and took on to drink. Two or three weeks I locked him up for being drunk.

275. Your opinion is, Mr. Stewart, that the great majority of casuals cannot be reformed?—I am afraid not; they will not be whatever you do for them.

276. Is your casual ward always full?—No, sir; I have only refused two days last month; on the 15th and 16th I was full. We have accommodation for thirty-four males and thirty-four females. The female side is very seldom full; the most in the twelve months have been seventeen or eighteen. I have never turned away a woman or child since I have been there.

277. When the male side is full what do you do?—I send them on to Islington.

278. Is Islington on the same system?—Yes, open.

279. How far is it from St. Pancras to Islington?—A mile.

280. Is there any hardship?—No, not at all.

281. About what time do they come in?—They assemble about five o'clock.

282. They are told at once, I suppose, if there is no room?—You see the gate is always open, and these men go into the stone yard, where they can see how many men there are in the open shed, and if they see I have only accommodation for ten, the other ten are off to get in somewhere else.

283. The task you give them is stone breaking?—Stone breaking and oakum picking and cleaning.

284. What amount of stone do you require them to break?—Seven hundredweight.



285. Is that a difficult task?—Well, I have found no difficulty in it.

286. Supposing a casual was a weakly man, would you require him to break that quantity?—I should put him to oakum picking.

287. Do you think if the casual ward was done away with, and all casuals admitted to the workhouse, it would be a good thing?—Well, I don't know.

288. Do you think it would be a good thing if there were fewer casual wards, and all worked on the same system?—I think every casual ward in the metropolis should be on the cell system; that there should be one system of work and one system of diet, and no other. In the casual wards they are not dieted all alike, in some they get pea soup for dinner. Well, of course, they apply there direct, because it is better than bread and cheese. Where soup is given they are generally pretty full. Here is an instance that occurred some time ago. I had occasion to lock up a great big black fellow who got a month's imprisonment. When he came out of prison he came to us, as he admitted the diet was better.

289. Your idea of reforming the casual wards would be by means of the cell system?—Yes.

290. What is the number of *bonâ fide* working men?—I do not know; very small.

291. Should you say 5 per cent.?—Not more, sir.

292. Would that be the outside number?—Yes.

*By Mr. HANKEY.*

293. Should you say that the frequenters of casual wards are pretty constant? Do you see the same faces over and over again?—Yes.

294. Do you suppose these people visit indiscriminately casual wards and shelters?—I think they sometimes go to one and sometimes another.

295. Do you often find the place from which they profess to have come is a charitable refuge?—No, I have not observed that.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

296. I think you said that these people are quite incorrigible?—I do say so.

297. Do you think nothing could be done to reform them?—Well, a gentleman comes every Sunday night and has a nice service, and I find that terribly upsets them.

298. Then you have no belief in their reformation?—No, not at all.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

299. With regard to the three men you spoke of as having been found work, they were picked men, were they not?—Yes, they were men I thought would be suitable for the job—they, were the best men I had on that occasion.

300. Do you get many soldiers?—Well, I cannot answer that question, though I can pretty well tell a soldier when I see him. We have a good number.

301. A quarter?—No, not a quarter. If I take twenty men I should expect to find two soldiers amongst them—Reserve men,

302. How many of your men should you think have been working men, or clerks, or something of that, who have come down through drink?—Well, I cannot say.

*By* Mr. STAPYLTON.

303. Sometimes you find a better sort of man?—Some of them are very decent.

304. Do you ever send them to any other place?—No, I have no authority to send them anywhere else.

305. Do you ever let them out before their time?—That is at my discretion. I always make them do a task of work. I should send out a man who I thought would get employment. If I thought a man could not perform his work I should take him before the doctor.

*By* Miss TILLARD.

306. Do you let them go out if you believe they have got a job of work?—Well, that would be the difficulty. If I did that once, I might always do it.

307. Can you form any idea as to which are likely to get work?—No, I cannot.

308. If they were to bring a document showing that they had work to go to?—I have to use my own judgment.

*By* Mr. VALPY.

309. You agree that it is a matter of very great difficulty, if not an impossibility, to say which is a genuine workman or not?—You have to form an idea. It is a matter of guess work. A great many are strong hearty men that you are surprised to see them come in.

310. Mr. ALLEN remarked that Mr. Stewart had instructions to bring all new cases before him.

311. Is not ordinary London paving stone very hard to break? For instance, seven hundredweight would be a hard task?—Four hundredweight of Guernsey granite would be harder than London paving stone, and that is what we use. I think the oakum is most difficult; some of it is very bad, all tar, that which I have in now is very bad.

312. Then you do not quite agree that stone breaking is harder work than oakum picking?—It depends on what a man has been used to. Many of them will break up seven hundredweight of stone before dinner, and another will take up to four or five o'clock in the afternoon.

313. You were twenty-four years in the police?—Yes.

314. Had you any special acquaintance with homeless people when you were in the police?—We come across a great many people in the service.

315. Do you know what the regulations then in force were with regard to dealing with homeless persons?—No more than that we locked them up if they had not anywhere to go.

316. Do you know whether that regulation is still in force?—I believe it is still in force. I think a constable would be justified in taking him to the station and charging him.

317. Have you ever known constables bring homeless persons to the casual wards?—Yes, frequently. One was brought to our ward by a constable at one o'clock this morning.

318. You are not aware as to the present regulation for dealing with homeless cases?—No, sir.



*By Mr. LOCH.*

319. Have you an increase or a decrease of applicants in the nineteen years you have been there?—Well, shall I show you the book? You see when I first went there, until 1882, we used to turn them out in the morning, we did not detain them at all. In 1882 the Act was passed that these men should be detained two days, consequently from 1877 up to about 1882 I think the number of admissions were about 16,000 each year; since 1882 they have fallen to about 4,000, showing clearly what detention did.

320. When you had 16,000 do you think people came oftener, so that your 4,000 does not represent an actual diminution, but simply fewer visits?—They came because they were not detained.

321. Therefore there are fewer people now distinctly who go to the casual ward?—Oh, yes.

322. Have you the bath?—Yes.

323. In the open room?—A bathroom, sir.

324. Do you think that any complaint could be brought against the cell system as being too prison-like?—I think not, sir.

325. Have you ever seen the system at all?—Yes.

326. You did not think it hardened people?—No.

327. Do you think it good?—Yes, I do. Because many a man who is shut out for a night is a respectable hard-working fellow, and does not wish to follow up this life. He makes application for shelter and he is put into a cell, and knows nothing more. But you put a man into an open ward, he mixes up with all the rest, he hears what they have got to say, and believe me a great deal of harm is done by these men talking to one another.

328. You think that the admissions of these genuine hard-working men are quite 5 per cent. of the total?—Yes.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

329. When you recommend the cell system would you apply it during the day time as well as during night time?—Oh, yes, from the time of their admission until their discharge, you have got more hand over them. I have to be very firm to deal with them.

*By the CHAIRMAN.*

330. You say the Detention Act reduced the number very considerably?—Yes.

331. That is as they are now detained for three days. Supposing they were detained for six days, do you think it would have the same effect?—We could only tell that by trying it.

*By Mr. LOCH.*

332. With regard to this 5 per cent., would there be any difficulty in referring them to a refuge? Is there any difficulty?—I think so.

333. What would it be?—I do not think they would turn up.

334. Could you send them if you liked?—Yes.

335. When you send people on to Islington, do you know that there is room there?—I cannot answer for that.

MR. DUFFUS (*Superintendent of the St. Giles Casual Ward*).

(*Examined by the CHAIRMAN.*)

336. You are a casual ward superintendent?—Yes.

337. Have you been in that position very long?—Fifteen years.

338. Have you many—is your ward nearly always full —No, sir ; the average has been ten a night lately.

339. What accommodation have you?—We have accommodation for fifty-two men and twenty-four women.

340. How many men would there be on an average?—Ten a night during the last three months.

341. How many women?—About three. The women are generally about one third of the men.

342. How many children?—Not many.

343. What class are they, chiefly habitual vagrants?—Yes.

344. Young men generally?—Well, I daresay from 20 to 40. Single men as far as we know.

345. Are they men that you know?—Yes, sir. They come very near regularly once a month.

346. That would be about twelve admissions in the year?—Yes. They go from casual ward to casual ward.

347. Among the men you admit do you come across any that you would call *bonâ fide* working men?—Well, I have.

348. What should you say would be the percentage?—Well, I should not go beyond 5 per cent.

349. Where is St. Giles Casual Ward?—Macklin Street, at the top of Drury Lane.

350. Is it on the cell system?—Yes, sir.

351. Have you ever been in a casual ward where the open system is adopted?—Yes, I was at Mile End Old Town. It is on the cellular system now, but when I was there they had open wards.

352. The cell system acts as a deterrent?—They do not go so often to it.

353. Do you think that it ought to be adopted in every London parish?—Yes, I think that if I had my way I should have them all on the cellular system.

354. Do you think there would be any chance of reforming some of these men who come to casual wards?—I dare say I might get you some. I would gladly co-operate with you in that respect, and if there were any I could let you have them. I should do my best to find out.

355. But do you think they could be reformed?—I think I might get one or two now and then. We could try. It is like this, we have tried them before and they have been found wanting. We tried them with Mr. Kitto, and generally failed.

356. But this 5 per cent., you would not fail with them?—Well, we could have a try. There is no harm in that, but the prospect of success would be very poor.

357. What are the men? Are they brought there chiefly through-drink?—Yes, they are of improvident habits. Indolence, laziness, and dishonesty have much to do with it.



358. Do you think there are any who have been regularly brought up?—Yes.

359. Do you think there would be many?—There are a few, but not very many.

360. Are there any who have been brought up to casual wards?—I think there are a few about. I knew them from about 20 years of age, and now they are about 35.

361. But might not that have been because they had no friends at 20 years of age?—I think that if they had been taken at 20 years of age they might perhaps have been reformed, but when they get to 35 or 40 they have been too long at it, and are hardened.

362. Do you ever have to refuse people coming to St. Giles from being over full?—I have refused them for the want of room, but very seldom.

363. Have you refused any this winter?—Not since November, and then only a few.

364. What do you do when you refuse them?—We refer them to where we know there is likely to be room. We have communication with four of the central casual wards—at Vine Street, Bear Yard, Wallis Yard, and Shoe Lane. Up here in the centre all is gaslight, and about a greatcoat warmer for the casual. He won't go to Rotherhithe and stop there, or to Hammersmith or Fulham, if he can stay here.

365. Do you ever send on to refuges any of your casuuls, respectable workmen or any other men that you think there is a chance of reforming?—No, sir, I have not.

366. Do you think it would be a good plan, supposing you had that discretion, if you found a fairly respectable workman to send him to a refuge?—Yes.

367. The refuges would be working in co-operation with the casual wards?—I should like to see co-operation between anyone that wished it.

368. But there is no co-operation between the casual wards in London?—Communication only in those five centrals. Each of those know when the others are full or otherwise through the police.

369. Do you think it would be a good plan if the casual ward system were abolished, and all the people sent into the workhouse?—No, I do not.

370. You would prefer the cell system uniform all over London?—Yes.

371. Do you think casual wards in that way might be managed by a central body independent of the Guardians—from the Local Government Board direct from headquarters? Would it be better than the management of each Board of Guardians in their own way?—Yes, that is the reason why all casual wards are not uniform and alike. Each Board of Guardians have their own system, thus you cannot get all casual wards alike. If they were directed and controlled by one authority then we might get them all alike.

*By Mr. HANKEY.*

372. Should you consider the greater number of these people are physically able-bodied?—They are nearly all young men fit to do good hard work.

373. Do you suppose these people visit shelters and refuges indiscriminately with casual wards, or do you think the casual is a casual?—Sometimes, I think, he may go to a shelter and pay his 4d., but I think it is not often he does it.

374. But where it is free—the refuges are free?—They might go occasionally.

375. You take the address of their previous night's lodgings, don't you?—Oh, yes, we take particulars—their name, age, occupation, birth-place, where they slept the night before, and where they are going.

376. Do you remember that it frequently happens that they slept the night before at a refuge or shelter?—Not a frequent occurrence, but I have known it.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

377. Most of them are young men from 20 to 30. I did take the average at one time. It was about 35, I think.

378. But you do have young men under 20, I think?—Oh, yes. I am sorry to say that during these last three years we have had lads of 16 years of age.

379. You said, I think, that it would be a good thing if something could be done for these young lads. You do not consider them utterly incurable?—I think perhaps these lads might do good, but the others are past reformation.

380. Up to what age do you consider reformation possible?—You must excuse me from answering that question.

*By Mr. GARDNER.*

381. You said you approved of the cell system. Were you speaking from the point of view of the ordinary frequenter or from the point of view of the *bonâ fide* frequenter?—I believe the cellular system is good in many ways. It is good in this way, that it allows a man to have his proper rest. He rests better by himself at night. He is away from the others, and I think he works better. He does not hear so much bad language as he would if he was in an open dormitory.

382. You think, then, that in the interests of the *bonâ fide* people the cell system is better than the open system?—Yes.

383. Not more deterrent?—I leave the deterrent part; it is better every way.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

384. Do you think that you get a better class of people in your cell ward than in the open ward?—Well, I find that we get a better working class.

385. They do their work better, and you do not often have to charge them?—We have not got so many charges.

386. Of these young men who have never known better, should you say they are casuals because they have never had any opportunities of doing better?—Yes.

387. Do you think their physique would enable them to do other work?—Yes.

388. They would be eligible for the army?—They won't be induced to do that. We have often spoken to them, but they won't do it.

389. Supposing they were sent to a farm colony where they were well looked after, do you think they would stop there? Do you think many of them would learn to be labourers?—I think many of them would not care about it.

390. What proportion of the men coming to you have been soldiers?—



I could not give you an average. We get a great many that have been soldiers, and a great many of them belong to the Army Reserve. There are a very great many Army Reserve men in casual wards.

391. Mr. ALLEN : They would be men of indifferent character ?

392. Mr. BOURNE : We get them at Ham Yard. They get greatly corrupted by leading a vagrant life.

*By Mr. STAPYLTON.*

393. Don't you think some of these men could get occasional work ?—Yes, a day's work occasionally. There is a large number of them. We can always tell them. They generally have their papers in their pockets.

394. Do you think any of your men have crossings to sweep—are regular beggars ?—There are very few of these people who go to a casual ward.

395. Have you had fewer than usual during this cold weather ?—We have had very few indeed during the last three months. We have not been a quarter full.

396. Can you account for that ?—Well, I don't know how to account for it unless it is more work to do, or their going to Free Shelters or Refuges.

397. Do you observe any difference in winter and summer ? Do you have more in the winter ?—Not always.

398. Do you have a good many who go on tramp ?—We have the most during hop picking time. They are gone about two months, and then we have another rush.

399. Do you think that at other times they make a tour of England ?—No, I do not think they do that. There is great encouragement in the metropolis for this kind of people. I believe, myself, that there is something here in London that draws these people ; they seem to come up from the provinces.

400. I suppose you can tell a countryman ?—Yes.

401. Mr. GASKELL : What is their reason for coming to London ?—They get so many good things for nothing. It is very plentiful in St. Giles.

*By Miss TILLARD.*

402. You think something could be done for the young ones ?—I think it might be tried.

403. Are these young lads, generally speaking, from the country ?—Yes, a fair proportion.

403A. What do they say they come for ?—It is generally because they have no parents, and they are left out in the street.

404. And you never make any inquiries ?—Well, there was one time the Guardians caused me to make inquiries about a lad of 16. I went round to the Boys' Home in Queen Street with him. The young scamp told lies. It appeared his parents were alive, and he had run away from home. They said they would take him back, and I believe the Society sent him back. That was the only time.

*By Mr. VALPY.*

405. Do you ever send these lads to the Charity Organisation Society ?—No.

406. I suppose you remember the visit of Mr. Kitto's Committee to your casual ward in 1887 ?—Yes.

407. Can you tell me during how many weeks the Committee visited your ward?—Between three and four weeks.

408. And I believe during that time they had the assistance of Mr. Bendall and other Charity Organisation agents, and inspectors of casual wards?—Yes, they were there.

409. And several people who were skilled were there to help them?—Yes.

410. To endeavour to pick out hopeful cases?—Exactly.

411. Would it be true to say that they interviewed something like 950 to 1,000 casuals during that time?—I should not like to commit myself.

412. It would not be far from the truth?—I used myself to pick out those I thought the most deserving, and I picked out a great number.

413. As a matter of fact there were ninety-eight of these casuals picked out. Would you agree with me that it is extremely difficult to pick out helpable cases?—I would. It is very difficult.—Mr. Valpy: Out of these ninety-eight we were only able to help twenty-two.

414. Now was it your experience during the disturbances in Trafalgar Square that a larger number of casuals than usual came to your ward?—Well there was a very great number applied, but it appears when they applied they did not want to be admitted. A great many were not casuals.

415. Why did they apply?—I used to think these people were told to go there, for a certain purpose, for when they were told the rules and regulations they did not want to go in, and, apparently were not destitute.

416. It is your habit to examine their pockets and to search them, is it not?—Yes. All are searched.

417. Did you find any money on them, or tickets for food and lodging?—Yes, I have found tickets, and so have my assistants.

418. At that time?—About that time.

419. I suppose you have no record of the number who had tickets?—No, sir.

420. Was it then that you found more than one ticket upon them?—We have found two for two different places.

421. Tickets for lodging and food?—Yes.

*By Mr. LOCH.*

422. Of the bulk of the men, is a very large proportion that of men who come again and again?—Yes, a large proportion.

423. Therefore if you sent up your weekly return, saying that so many had been in the casual ward, you have, if you take the whole year, to divide that by a large number in order to get the actual number of vagrants in London?—Yes, of the habituels. We get a number that come once for the first time and that for the last.

424. What proportion would these be?—Not very many of these.

425. Would you say 10 per cent.? I just want some idea?—Say 5 per cent. perhaps; 5 per cent. would be a better type.

426. You would have to make a very large reduction on the number you return in order to get the actual quantity?—Yes.

MR. WALSH (*Superintendent of the Kensington Casual Ward*).

(*Examined by the CHAIRMAN.*)

427. Mr. Walsh, you are the superintendent of the Kensington Casual Ward?—Yes.



428. Have you anything to do with the workhouse as well?—The able-bodied workhouse and the casual ward are together. The workhouse is by itself; they are not one.

429. Where is the casual ward situated?—There is a wooden fence between the two.

430. Should you call it in the suburbs?—It is near Wormwood Scrubbs.

431. Well, now, do you have country people come there?—Yes, but for the last two months very few.

432. Can you account for that?—Yes, in this way, that we are so far from the charity that is going on. They went into the common lodging-houses and refuges, some of them have told me—General Booth's refuges.

433. What are the class of people you generally have apply? Say during the last five or six years?—I put them down at about 95 per cent. habitual tramps, because they return month after month.

434. And the other 5 per cent. would be what you would call *bona fide* working men?—I should say they are people who never come again.

435. Do they give you the impression of men really seeking work?—Yes, we very seldom see that class again.

436. Have you any system by which you could tell them where to go to get work?—No.

437. You have simply to pass them on?—I have found work for one man; he stopped for about a week or a fortnight.

438. Do you consider most of the men come there through drink or through dishonesty?—A great many through drink. When I was first there they used to come—refused admission—we were next the police station, and that was a great protection, they got locked up.

439. What class of men are they?—They are mostly able-bodied, I think, as a rule.

440. What would be the percentage?—Well, there would be about 70 per cent. able-bodied; others would be from 65 to 70 years of age.

441. Are there any young men, young lads amongst them?—Very few, but there are a few.

442. What should you say brings these young lads into the casual ward?—Well, there is no doubt they cannot agree with their parents; they take flight and get into bad company, and go from bad to worse.

443. Are there many in the casual ward who have been brought up to it and know no other side of life, such as are born into it?—I should not go so far as to say that. They have dropped into it.

444. There are very few women and children?—The percentage has come down. Nearly all the women can be traced to drink. I have known women separated from their husbands; as soon as she gets her allowance—she takes it fortnightly—she goes and gets drunk.

445. Do you think there would be any chance of reforming persons of this character?—I should think none of them.

446. With lads up to 20 there would be a chance?—Yes.

447. But would there be any chance with those between the ages of 20 and 50?—Very little.

448. Do you think it would be advantageous if you were in communication with one of the refuges that you know are in London, that you could refer good cases to it?—I think so. It would be a simple matter.

449. Do you think it would be advantageous if the casual wards were done away with, and all the people admitted to the workhouse?—No, I don't think so.

450. What is your system?—Cellular, we find it advantageous.

451. Do you think it the best system?—I should say so. For the *bondâ fide* it would be light, for the regular tramp it would not be light. They prefer the open wards.

452. Do you think there ought to be an uniform system all over London on the cellular system, and managed by a central body?—Yes, it would be a benefit, because the work is different in places, the food is different, and the treatment is different.

453. Have you any other ideas of your own about the reform of the men?—There is one thing which is pauperising London, and that is so much charity given in the street, and Bangor Street is the headquarters of the West End. You will see them come out in the morning from ten to eleven, men, and women, and children, and if they see a person coming along who looks like a detective they will turn and look into a shop. They go into the rich suburbs and return, and spend the proceeds in the beer house. It is a regular rendezvous. You see it morning after morning.

454. Do you think there is any chance of reforming any number of the persons who regularly live in casual wards?—I should think so.

455. What should you say would be the percentage?—Four or 5 per cent.

*By* Miss TILLARD.

456. Do you find they chiefly come from the country?—Yes, a good many of them.

457. Where do the casuals say they have slept the night before?—In different districts of London.

458. Do you find most of them country people or Londoners?—A good many of them are countrymen.

459. Are there many young ones?—Not many. Not many young men under 20.

460. You have more older ones?—Yes.

461. Do you think the numbers are increasing?—We have not been full up for the last two months. During the severe weather we had about twenty, and thirty-two have been the most.

462. Can you suggest any reason for this?—The weather being so severe there would be more charity.

463. Do you find any difference between summer and winter?—During the winter there has been a vast number up to the present time.

464. Do you think that many of the people who come to you go to free refuges?—They have gone there, I have heard them say so.

*By* Mr. STAPYLTON.

465. Have you heard that any particular refuge was dirty?—They have said about General Booth's. The men told me of the refuge in Clerkenwell.

466. They require to go into the bath?—Yes.

467. Do you feed high or low?—I believe Kensington is the best fed ward. They get soup.

468. You spoke rather hopefully about young people. Have you any idea how you would improve them?—If they were taken up and assisted there would be a chance.

469. Have you any instance of that?—No, because I am not connected with any society.

470. Do any of your people come from the potteries?—No.

471. They must have had a very severe winter?—I should not think



there has been one from the potteries. I have known that place over thirteen and a half years. They have money put by.

472. That seems as if they were very thrifty?—They drink very hard, but are thrifty.

By Mr. VALPY.

473. Do you get many from the Bangor Street district?—No, very few.

474. They make a pretty good living by begging?—Yes.

475. Have you noticed any decrease in the number of begging children since the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act came in?—They do not come to me. There have been less children admitted during the past eighteen months.

476. How do you account for it?—I believe they take them away and send them to school.

477. Do you think the Act has anything to do with it?—Yes, I should certainly say so. Previous to that we found a large number of children came to the casual wards.

478. Do you ever send these lads of 16 to the Charity Organisation Society?—No, sir.

479. It would be easy, would it not?—Yes, if I thought it would be any good.

480. You seem to doubt that it would be any good?—There would be a percentage, I believe.

481. In answer to questions, the witness said that the Kensington Casual Ward was close to the Uxbridge Road, one of the main thoroughfares into London from Uxbridge.

482. So that you would rather expect to get more *bonâ fide* working men into your workhouse than into St. Giles?—Yes, certainly.

483. Should you put them down at about 5 per cent.?—Yes.

By Mr. MADDISON.

484. I suppose you would reckon a large percentage incapable out-of-works?—Yes; some are very old and feeble, disabled fingers and so forth.

By Mr. GASKELL.

485. What was the refuge at Clerkenwell you were told was dirty?—It was General Booth's.

486. When I came to your casual ward the other day you told me a story about a casual to whom, if you remember, you offered a day's work.—Yes, yes, sir.

487. At Mr. Gaskell's request the witness related how a casual refused a job of 3s. for a day's work at snow-clearing for the Vestry, yet worked hard the same day at snow-clearing in the workhouse yard for nothing.

By Miss TILLARD.

488. Do you find a great many men giving the name of John Smith?—Many give the name of Smith, I don't say about the John.

By Mr. VALPY.

489. How long is it since you left the police?—11th May two years ago.

490. Can you tell us what regulations are in force for dealing with homeless persons?—If found destitute they would be taken to the workhouse.

491. But supposing that was in the middle of the night?—They are taken to the workhouse at all hours.

*By the CHAIRMAN.*

492. Are there any written regulations at the different police stations as to what a constable is to do?—No, you have to go on your own judgment. Before I left an order came that they were to be taken to the Relieving Officer of the district, and he was to give an order for the workhouse. Well, the Relieving Officer of the parish to which I was attached wanted to leave orders, so that he should not be disturbed in the night.

493. There is no necessity for a man to be out in the streets at night?—Not the least.



EVIDENCE TAKEN FEBRUARY 13, 1891.

*Present*—MR. J. H. ALLEN, *in the Chair*.

Mr. E. A. HANKEY.  
Miss HAMILTON  
(for Rev. W. H. Hunt).  
Mr. E. BUCHANAN.  
Major LUTLEY JORDAN.  
Mr. W. E. FRANKS.  
,, F. J. S. EDGCOMBE.

Miss TILLARD.  
Mr. A. J. S. MADDISON.  
,, E. W. BARNARD.  
,, H. C. BOURNE.  
,, H. STAPYLTON.  
,, R. A. VALPY.  
,, G. E. P. GASKELL, *Secretary*.

SERGEANT-MAJOR SHAW (*Newport Market Refuge*).

*Examined by* Mr. J. H. ALLEN, *Chairman*.

- 493A. You are Superintendent of the Newport Market Refuge?—Yes.  
494. Have you been there long?—Three years.  
495. I observe from the annual report of your institution that you carry on three classes of work, *e.g.*: there is the industrial school, rescue work, and preventive work, but I shall confine my questions to the 644 admitted in the year 1890—  
496. WITNESS (*interposing*): You have the report for 1889; that for 1890 is not yet out. In 1890 there were 689 admissions.  
497. Are you open all the year round?—No, it depends upon the weather. We usually open at the end of October or beginning of November, and close the latter end of April or beginning of May.  
498. Has there been any great rush during this winter?—For about a fortnight during the severe weather we were full every night.  
499. Was there a great crowd at any time?—No.  
500. Supposing you have not room, what do you do?—Give them food tickets and tell them to come again, and if a strong case pay for a bed.  
501. You don't refer them to any other refuge?—There is no other refuge near us; the only place would be the casual ward.  
502. Does that often happen?—Very seldom—only during the severe weather.  
503. As a matter of fact you always have room?—More than room—plenty of room. We have accommodation for thirty men.

504. But this average (689) would not be anything like thirty a night?—We were not nearly full at all last year.

505. Do you think that these men are of a class who would go to a casual ward as well as a refuge?—I do not think so. They consider themselves above the casual ward class, and would go anywhere rather than there.

506. They would not be tramps?—No. The Local Government Board Inspector visits every week, and he has only detected eight men since the latter end of November. Some of these he would not call habitual casuals.

507. They would not be of the class that one sees sleeping out in summer or lying on their backs in the sun in the parks in the summer?—They try it on, but we don't admit them. In the year 1890 we refused 213.

508. On what grounds?—We did not consider them good cases—loafers.

509. How can you tell?—To the best of one's judgment, asking them questions, where they worked and so forth.

510. By this report for 1889 I see that of those admitted the very large number of 250 consisted of discharged soldiers, 57 painters, and 85 labourers of all kinds, they make up the bulk. That would be the very class of persons who would probably be out of work?—Quite so, sir.

511. It seems to me a very large number?—In the year 1890 211 old soldiers passed through. As a rule they are Army Reserve men.

512. With regard to these labourers and painters, would they be physically fit for work?—Yes, we would not take them otherwise.

513. And the 210 old soldiers—would they be fine strong men?—Yes, able-bodied, as a rule.

514. Have you been in the army yourself?—Yes.

515. Why do these men leave the army?—I find it is to get the deferred pay. After twelve years service they have about £40 to take. While that lasts they do not trouble about seeking for employment.

516. It seems a very sad state of things, because it is not only in your refuge, but in others?—No doubt.

517. Do you think if there was a dépôt formed in London, by the Government we will say, for those old soldiers to go to, say on probation for six months, and then if they were found suitable allowed to enter the army again—do you think anything of that sort would do?—I do not think it would work, for the men would not go. After a man has taken his discharge he cannot go back until he repays his deferred pay.

518. You think this a bad system?—Yes.

519. Do you find that as a rule these discharged soldiers are ready to work?—Yes, as a rule.

520. Do you get them employment?—No, we keep them and make them look for it.

521. I see that you keep them for seven days?—Yes. We do not exceed seven days, unless there is some special reason.

522. Do you put them to any work at the Refuge?—No, we keep one or two to assist the porter.

523. Do you think it would be an improvement if you could test their anxiety to work in the same manner that they do at the casual ward?—I do not think we should gain much by it.

524. You say these men who come to you are not loafers, but fairly respectable men who are anxious to get work?—The very large majority. Sometimes I get a man overnight who is not of the right stamp, but I am sure to detect him in the morning, and then I tell him he need not come



back at night unless he can bring a letter showing that he has some prospect of work.

525. Do you make any effort to test the genuineness of the answers given by these men?—Not unless there is something special going to be done for him.

526. What do you mean by something special?—If he was going to be kept for another length of stay, or clothes given to him.

527. Is your Refuge more comfortable than the casual wards?—Yes.

528. Much more comfortable?—Yes. The Casual Ward Inspector said it was too comfortable, but I do not think so.

529. What sort of beds are they?—Hammock beds and two blankets.

530. Good food?—Yes, supper and breakfast. They are then turned out and are not received during the day.

531. They may or may not come back?—That is as they like. They very often get work and do not find it necessary to return.

532. Do you find the numbers decreasing?—No, about the average.

533. But the unfortunate part of it is these discharged soldiers and general labourers are very likely to be out of work during the winter?—Yes, that is so.

534. During 1890 we had only one-third who asked to be kept for seven days. Two-thirds of those admitted remained under the seven days.

535. Have you any opinion of your own as to how these refuges could be improved so that these men might be reformed?—Well, no, we have not got them long enough for anything of that sort; they would require a longer stay.

536. Two or three months, I suppose?—I should say so.

537. According to your account they do not want any reforming?—No, I don't think they do, as a rule.

*By* Mr. HANKEY.

538. Do you often see the same faces again in the season?—Not during the same season. Occasionally, of course, we do, but they are not admitted. A man is not received twice in one year, unless for some very good reason, such as having been in the hospital or infirmary. Forty-four applied for admittance in 1890 who had been in during 1889.

539. Could you form any idea of the proportion of these men who follow what I should call season trades?—The number is given in the classification.

540. Do you have to employ a doctor at all?—No, sir. If applicants are found to be ill, I send them to the infirmary: that is, to the Relieving Officer for an order.

541. I should like to know what the dietary is for breakfast?—Bread and dripping and cocoa. Supper: coffee, bread and dripping, four times a week; soup and bread, three. They come in for dinner on Sunday.

542. Is there any sort of religious ministration?—Prayers in the morning and evening. There is no service on Sunday. They are sent out for church, and they are sent out again in the afternoon, when they have had their dinner. They are not allowed to stop in the Refuge.

*By* Mr. FRANKS.

543. The only investigation you make is questioning them when they come in?—Yes.

544. You have no office set apart for that particular purpose?—No; if there is any particular reason for doubting a man, we apply to his last employer, but not as a rule.

*By Mr. EDGCOMBE.*

545. You do not accept any ticket or order of admission?—No.

546. Your inquiries are made after admission, if at all?—Yes; I accept a man's statement, checked by my general knowledge of the class.

547. Do you ever make inquiries afterwards to see how they have succeeded?—No, nothing more than they tell us themselves. We do not follow them up.

548. When you say the accommodation is more comfortable, in what respect do you mean?—They have better beds to sleep in and more liberty.

549. Do you mean hammock beds?—I am going on what the Casual Ward Inspector says, and the men tell me it is more comfortable.

550. Is it not probable that the increase of freedom, as compared between your Refuge and the casual wards, is a great attraction in favour of the former?—That may be so, but the Refuge is not meant for casual ward cases.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

551. You do not get many broken-down people who have been in better circumstances?—No, not many. We only sent four men to the House of Charity last year.

552. Or men who have been in regular work for any long period?—Yes, some that have been in situations for years. We would not take them if broken down.

553. I do not mean broken down in health. Would you admit a man who was otherwise respectable, but had come to grief through drink?—If there was any likelihood of his getting work, yes.

554. What questions do you ask the men?—His last employment, how long out of work, and reference, in case we should wish to inquire.

555. Do you think you can tell by your experience whether a man is really a working man desirous of work, or a man who wants to live upon charity?—I think I can tell pretty well.

556. Have you ever known of any cases of men getting work in the country, say, after leaving your Refuge and on losing their situations coming back to you?—Not in the same year.

557. I mean in the following year?—Oh, yes.

558. Do they look to you in any way to help them?—Not further than to give them shelter for a few nights. We had 44 in 1890 who had been with us in 1889.

559. This question has reference to something I have observed myself at a Refuge I know—men having got work more or less through the people at the Refuge, and having lost their situations, come straight back to be provided for again?—But we do not provide them with work. They must get work themselves.

560. You have no experience or recollection of any case of that sort?—No, sir.

561. Then you do not provide work or clothes or anything?—Yes, clothes in special cases.

562. Do you advertise for employment in special cases?—No.



563. Do you put yourselves in communication with masters and relations with the view of seeing whether they can do anything?—Yes, if we get a young man, we will try to find out his friends and send him back to them, but we don't have many cases of that sort.

564. Then you don't think any large number of men whom you admit are out of work through drink?—No, I do not.

*By Miss TILLARD.*

565. Has your number of soldiers increased of late?—Last year we had 39 less than the year before, and less still this year as far as it has gone.

566. Do they come in larger numbers just before their pensions are due?—We do not have pensioners unless it is something very special.

567. I mean the Reserve men?—The Reserve men get very little pay, and we take them.

568. Do you get more of these?—No, I think the number is about the same.

569. How many of them come who have been brought up in your Industrial School?—Very few, I am happy to say. We have had only two during the three years I have been there.

570. Do you have many young lads under 20?—No not many; our average age for 1890 was 36.

571. Do you make any rule as to cleanliness if a man comes dirty?—I would not take him in. I should send him away to have a bath. We have never sent them to the casual ward for a bath and then afterwards admitted them.

573. Mr. Hankey remarked that he supposed casual wards did not care to take them simply for the bath.

574. You send on your best cases to the House of Charity don't you?—Yes, if a good case, and we see that there is no likelihood of his getting getting work within seven days.

575. Then you have to make an investigation before they go?—Yes.

*By Mr. STAPYLTON.*

576. We don't take a man who is a pensioner unless there is some very good reason. We have taken them, but as a rule we don't. Their pension is not enough to keep them, but, if they are a little careful, they ought to be able to get along with the help of their 1s. a day.

577. Your test is whether a man is fit for labour?—Yes.

578. If a man is past work you would not take him in?—No, unless it was to keep him out of the streets for the night.

579. And with regard to boys, do you take them?—Not as a rule. We may do so just for a night, but we should pass them on the next morning.

580. Do you have a good many old men—men who have been to you before?—Yes, 44 in 1890.

581. Do they tell you they have been in before?—Yes, as a rule. Sometimes they will try to hide it if they are within the twelve months.

582. Do they always give their right names? No, sir. We keep an index of the names of all who are admitted.

583. Have you found men using an alias?—Yes, sir.

584. Do you ever send cases to the Charity Organisation Society for inquiry?—Very seldom. I have sent a couple lately.

585. You have sometimes received men from the Charity Organisation Society?—Yes, kept them for a few nights, pending investigation.

586. You say that you trust greatly to your visit in the daytime to detect any undesirable inmates?—Yes.

587. Do you visit every day?—Every morning before they go out. I converse with the men always at night, and in the morning.

588. Can you suggest any way in which the refugees can be brought together, so as to act with uniformity; that is to say, supposing it was thought desirable that people who applied to a refuge should be sent to a casual ward, and *vice versa*?—Well, the casual wards might pass them on.

589. Have they ever done so?—I have taken them from Wallis' Yard, but very few cases.

590. If a man were sent by the casual ward authorities would you receive him?—Yes.

By Mr. VALPY.

591. You say you don't as a rule take in homeless boys; that is, if they come you pass them on. Where do you pass them on to?—Rev. W. H. Jerves or Rev. H. E. Simpson; they have temporary homes for boys.

592. Do they take steps to help and provide for them?—Yes.

593. Then you don't take homeless boys into your Industrial School?—Yes, that is what the school is for, but they must come within certain limits. The age limit is 11 to 13, and be recommended by a subscriber or other responsible person.

594. Would you take these homeless boys in on their own application?—They must be recommended.

595. At what time are your people turned out in the morning?—They must be out by 8 o'clock, but a man can go out at any time he likes before that.

596. About these old soldiers—you may take it from me that there is an unusual number of old soldiers in Westminster—can you account for this unusual number in that particular district?—No, I cannot.

597. You say you very seldom send a case to the Charity Organisation Society; don't you think it would be a good thing to send a few more?—Well, really, before the inquiries were completed the man would be away from us. We should be willing to keep him for seven days, but two-thirds of those who come to us don't want the seven days.

598. Your opinion with regard to these men is, that they are not the sort of men a Charity Organisation Committee would successfully deal with?—I don't think that, but there is no time. They should be looking for work. If we told them we were going to make inquiries they would rest and wait to see the result. I would rather see these men try to get work for themselves.

599. Do you ever take any steps to verify their statement that they have got work?—If we were going to give him clothing or keep him over the seven days.

600. Inquire of his employers?—Yes, and you can tell from a man's state whether he is in work or not.

By Mr. MADDISON.

601. Do you visit other refuges than your own?—No.

602. Don't you think it would be a good thing—don't you think it would promote co-operation?—Well, I do not know how that would be. They would not be inclined to be guided by me.



603. No, but you might come across some old cases?—But I would not see the men during the day. You must go at night if you want to see the men.

604. Could you not go at night?—It would have to be late. I could not leave my own place until eight o'clock. If anyone came to see my place, I should be out.

605. Do you think it would be possible to have an officer to visit the various refuges and report on them?—Yes, he could detect men that way.

606. Do you communicate with employers of labour?—No.

607. You have no register?—We do not find employment at all. I sometimes know where work is going on and then of course I tell men where I think they may get a job.

608. How many do you pass on in a year to the House of Charity; about four?—Eight would be a better average.

*By Major JORDAN.*

609. You think there is a difference between the men who come to you and the men who go to casual wards?—Yes.

610. Generally when the Refuges are closed the casual wards are full, and when the Refuges are open the casual wards are not full. Do you know that?—We have had the Local Government Board Inspector to visit once a week since November last; in that time he has only detected eight men that he knows, and some of these are men that he only knew as having stayed one night.

611. Do you find that your men leave earlier if they have the opportunity?—They must leave by eight o'clock, and can go out any time after 4 a.m.

612. Do you find that your men leave earlier if they have the opportunity?—They must be out by eight o'clock.

613. If they are looking for work will they go earlier?—Yes, from four o'clock up to eight.

614. Do you find that a large number go out before eight o'clock in the morning?—Not a large number.

615. How many?—This morning seven went out at six o'clock, and of these three got work to go to on Monday.

616. I suppose a good many go to work in Covent Garden?—No, I don't think so.

*By Mr. BUCHANAN.*

617. With regard to the old soldiers, what do you think they are fit for? At a Refuge I am connected with we find that when they leave the army they seem incapable of doing anything for themselves. We have studied the question a good deal, but don't know what to do with them. They are the most useless set of men we have to deal with?—The majority we get are all able to work as labourers.

618. What do you call labourers' work?—Well, say vestry work, sweeping the roads.

619. Anything else?—We get tradesmen, a good number of carpenters. A number find work in tram yards and bus yards.

620. Is it your experience that something ought to be done for old soldiers as being a useless set of men?—A man of forty is a pensioner, and, though his pension is not enough to keep him, it should be a help, and if they go the proper way to work, as pensioners they could do it.

621. You say you only keep your applicants seven days, and in seven

days you find two-thirds get work. If you kept them longer don't you think you would have a higher percentage?—If a man can satisfy us that he has a prospect of getting work we should not turn him out. That is a case we should inquire into.

622. Don't you think it would be desirable to ask the references before you admit them?—I don't see where they would go. We admit without references.

623. Do you tell them where work is to be found?—As far as I can I tell a man where I think he is likely to get on.

624. Don't you think you would be doing far more useful work if you tried to get them work?—I would rather they found work for themselves. If you once started that they would be always on your hands.

625. Suppose you were to alter your dietary—supposing you only fed them on bread and water—would not it be better?—I cannot agree with you. I would not give any man bread and water and expect him to work.

626. I mean whilst you are finding it?—When the work was found they would not be fit to do it.

627. Then you say you don't ask for references as you do not find them work?—No, that is not the reason. We don't keep them sufficiently long to get replies in all instances. The majority are not with us seven days; two-thirds in 1890 left before the seven days were up.

628. As far as I can make out you cannot answer the question as to whether you would be doing useful work if you kept them longer and did not give them such good food—kept them, say, for a month and got their references?—

629. For myself I would like to keep every man until he got work, but I would not give him bread and water.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

630. In reference to the last question, don't you think it possible that, even though you fed them on bread and water as Mr. Buchanan suggests, the vagrant class would come if only to save the price of their night's lodging?—I do not agree with Mr. Buchanan on that point at all considering the class of men that apply to us.

631. When men get work before the end of the week do you usually find that it is work of a permanent or a casual kind?—Permanent in most cases.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

632. How do you know that?—We know the class of work they get.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

633. It was in my mind that, as you keep people for a short time only and they get work rapidly, the probability is that on leaving you they get some casual work, whereas if you kept them longer they might permanently benefit by getting lasting employment?—No, I don't think so.

634. With regard to the admissions, do you think you would recognise a man who came after he had been away two or three months?—Yes.

635. About the soldiers, don't you think perhaps you have a rather larger number of soldiers on account of the fact that your Refuge is in a certain sense identified with that work?—Well, I don't know.

636. You think your Refuge would probably have a larger number than other refuges?—Really, my experience of other refuges is so limited that I cannot give an opinion.



637. Do you find that the old soldiers get work as readily as the other people you have?—No, I do not.

638. To what do you attribute that?—No accounting at all. Principally, I should think, because they are unused to work.

639. Do you think they have as much resource in seeking for work as the others?—No, I think the army discipline has really done them harm as regards resource.

640. Do you think the result of your Refuge being visited by Inspector Vick has been to prevent the vagrants from applying?—I do not think it has made any alteration; the men appear to be about as usual.

MR. TUCKER (*Superintendent of the Casual Ward of the City of London*).  
*Examined by Mr. ALLEN, Chairman.*

641. Mr. Tucker, you are Superintendent of the City of London Casual Ward?—Yes.

642. Where is it?—Robin Hood Court, Shoe Lane.

643. And your workhouse is not in the City, is it?—It is five miles out. We have a small place in the City as a dépôt; it is very small indeed.

643A. Do you have at this casual ward much pressure of applications every winter?—Yes, especially from men, very few from women and children, except when the refuge closes at Banner Street, but it makes very little difference to the men.

644. What is your accommodation?—54 men, 36 women.

645. Was there any great rush during this past winter?—No, we had fewer applicants.

646. How do you account for that?—I don't know; people gave more charity in the streets, I suppose.

647. Are these men that go into the casual ward broken-down men, physically incapable of doing a day's work?—No, the majority are not.

648. Are the majority men who would do a day's work if they had it to do?—No, I should think not. I have known some of them for twenty years.

649. What would be the percentage during that time?—Very small.

650. What would be the number you would put down as not regular casual ward hands?—About 20 per cent.

651. Do you think that any good could be done for these men in the way of reforming them and getting them work?—Do you mean regular old casuals?

652. Yes?—I do not see what you could do for them. We have a great many strangers come to us, young fellows—they would be the ones to look after I should think.

653. Do you have many young lads?—Well, not under 18. We get them from 18 to 20.

654. You think there would be a chance with these?—Yes.

655. But no hope in getting hold of the remainder?—No, I do not think so.

656. Do you think it would be a good plan if the casual ward in the City of London was done away with and all applicants sent to the workhouse?—And give them workhouse diet? I should think it would.

657. You would do that? Because one of your guardians said the City of London workhouse was five miles away and it would be impossible?—It would be impossible to send them there, because we get applications for relief at all hours of the night.

658. Where would you send them then?—They would have to have the workhouse nearer.

659. Do you find that when the refuges are open your casual ward is empty?—On the women's side, not the men's.

660. How is that?—I don't think there is so much provision for men as for women.

660A. They would go in if there was room?—There is no doubt they would, because they would have no work to do.

661. But they are not treated any better in refuges than in casual wards?—They are not so well, so I understand; I have never been in one.

662. Do you think it would be a good plan if the Casual Ward Inspector was to visit the different refuges and find out these regular loafers?—I suppose regular loafers would hardly go to refuges, because they would not have them.

663. How are they to tell at the refuges? Are you able to tell a man who is a regular loafer?—Not by sight.

664. Then how do you find out?—Well, if they had them once they would not have them again. We are bound to have them.

665. Do you think any improvement could be made in the casual ward system by having an uniform system all over the Metropolis?—I should think it would be very much better.

666. Do you think it ought to be managed centrally by the guardians or by a central body independent of them?—Independent, because some do one thing, some another.

*By* Mr. HANKEY.

667. I suppose many of the people who come to casual wards are not regular casuals?—The majority are.

668. What you would call drifting cases—people who are gradually descending the social scale to the position of regular casuals?—Yes.

669. I should like to know what the women you speak of as coming to you in larger numbers when the refuges are closed describe themselves as?—They mostly call themselves charwomen. Sixteen out of twenty would call themselves charwomen; some say needlewomen.

670. Now, do you suppose that these people, from the manner in which they profess to live, can possibly keep body and soul together without assistance of some sort?—I don't think so, unless they beg in the street.

*By* Mr. EDGCOMBE.

671. Is your casual ward on the cellular system?—No.

671A. One of the old barrack ones?—Yes.

672. If any person of a rather superior class should present himself, is it ever your practice to suggest that he should go to a refuge?—No, not at night, send them next morning when in want of work.

*By* Mr. BOURNE.

673. What percentage of your men have ever been good workmen?—Do you mean labourers or mechanics?

674. I mean even good labourers, in regular employment?—I should say not 10 per cent.

675. How many of your men have come to their present position



through drink?—Well, that is the principal cause; they say so, at least. The majority say so.

676. Do you believe that any large percentage of the women who come to you are prostitutes?—I don't think so.

*By* Miss TILLARD.

677. Do you have many soldiers?—No.

678. You don't know whether they are or not?—Not unless they say so, although I think we can generally tell old soldiers.

679. Have you many young ones under 20?—Very few indeed.

680. Chiefly countrymen or Londoners?—Just at this time countrymen. There are more this year than I have ever known.

681. Do you know of any particular reason for this?—Well, they have come up on account of General Booth. They have been to Commissioner Smith and he cannot do anything for them.

682. Have you ever found any men get work through the Salvation Army?—No, never. I have never heard of it.

*By* Mr. VALPY.

683. Do you think it would be a good plan if people were to visit your casual ward with the view of picking out cases that seemed likely to be helpable?—At times there are such cases, but I don't say every night. We have Mr. Hawkins. Sometimes there are none when he comes.

684. If you find any people that you think are capable of being helped you would send them to Mr. Hawkins?—I send them to the Charity Organisation Society.

685. You cannot tell me at all what is the number out of the cases you have dealt with during the past year that you have sent to the Charity Organisation Society?—We have sent a great many lately. Many more since Mr. Hawkins has been there. I do not know the result.

686. If you consider a man to be a *bonâ fide* working-man in search of work, is it your practice to let him out early?—Yes.

686A. Without exacting a task of work?—Yes.

*By* Major JORDAN.

687. Do you have many men apply to be let out early after they are admitted?—Yes, six or eight.

688. Men who you believe are *bonâ fide* workmen?—Yes, they often ask overnight.

*By* Mr. BUCHANAN.

689. If you were in co-operation with a labour agency what proportion do you think you could pass on in the course of a year—ten per cent.?—Something like that.

*By* Mr. GASKELL.

690. You said the workhouse was four or five miles off; have you any workhouse in the City in which people are received prior to being sent to the other workhouse?—Yes.

691. Is the local workhouse near to the casual ward?—Yes.

*By* Mr. EDGCOMBE.

692. Do I understand that any person would be admitted temporarily to that workhouse unless suffering from sickness?—No, not into the work-

house ; we should refer them to the Relieving Officer. Residents in the City should be referred to the Relieving Officer.

693. Has that person got to go three miles?—There are conveyances.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

694. It *would* be possible for you to receive casuals in that local workhouse?—Yes, we have one there now.

*By the CHAIRMAN.*

695. Supposing there was an uniform system would you prefer the cell system?—Yes, certainly. The City of London is an open ward.

MR. KING (*Superintendent of the Houseless Poor Asylum*).  
*Examined by Mr. ALLEN, Chairman.*

696. You are Mr. King, Superintendent of the Houseless Poor Asylum?—Yes.

697. How long have you been there?—28 years.

698. During last year 1889-90 the total number admitted to your asylum is given as 6,011. Would that be a fair average?—About that—about 7,000.

699. Then you are only open, as I understand, from the 1st November to the end of April?—About four months. It generally depends upon the weather. If it is very cold we keep open a little longer. We do not open before December any time. The Refuge is open as a rule about twenty weeks.

700. Has there been any great pressure to get in this winter?—Not so much as in former winters.

701. Is there any great crowd pressing to come in?—The average number is about 350.

702. You are always full?—No, not always full.

703. Are you oftener full than empty?—We have beds to spare as a rule. We could accommodate about 450.

704. What is the total capacity?—450.

705. Does that include women?—Yes. On the average we should have 350.

706. Have you had much pressure this winter on account of the severe weather?—No, not so much as in former years.

707. How do you account for it?—I cannot.

708. Is it not because there has been a larger amount of money given?—There have been a large number of fresh places opened. General Booth has got two or three shelters down the East End.

709. At all events during this severe weather there has been less pressure than formerly?—Yes.

709A. Trade has been better?—Perhaps so.

710. Of this number of men who come in—you are a pretty good judge of character, I daresay—what would you class them?—There are labourers, deserving men, and tradesmen.

711. Are they casual ward tramps?—No, sir. They are men I have known stand all day long at the docks and never get a job. Perhaps there would be three or four hundred people standing there.

712. I want you to answer that question, Mr. King. The men who



come to you are not the same who go to casual wards?—No, they are a different class altogether.

713. Are they broken down and physically incapable, or could they do a day's work if they had got it?—Yes, they are willing to work when they have got it. During the last snow 360 went to work one night, the previous night the snow gave work to nearly 200 to 250. It showed that they were willing to work if they could get it.

714. They are admitted at six o'clock?—Five o'clock. And they stay there till next morning and may leave if they like at any time.

715. Do you ask questions as to character?—Yes; we take name, age, what they are, where they slept the night before, and where they came from.

716. Have you any means of verifying these statements?—No, we have to take it.

717. Do the same men come to you frequently?—No, we see some poor old women, but never men.

718. You would know them again?—Oh, yes.

718A. What should you say would be the cause of these men being out of work, reduced to hopeless penury?—There are too many people and not sufficient work for all.

719. Is it because drink has brought them down in a great many cases?—There would be some cases.

720. But they would not be the majority?—No, sir.

721. You would class these 6,000 odd men as respectable men, willing to work if they had got it?—Yes, just so.

722. Reduced to this state of homelessness through not having an employment?—Yes.

723. I see the great majority of men are classed as general labourers?—Yes.

724. By general labourers you mean that they have no trade in their hands?—Yes.

725. And they are men whom you would expect to be out?—Yes.

726. Is your Refuge more comfortable in any way as to bedding and food than the casual wards?—Yes, I should say very much more so. I should think it was a palace to the casual ward.

727. What as regards the food?—The food is nothing—no inducement for a man to come to our place. It is not so good; only a small piece of bread in the morning before being discharged. They get out early in the morning to look for work; that is the principal thing.

728. Don't you suppose that a great many men come to you and don't go to a casual ward simply because there is no test work?—Yes.

729. Do you think there would be any advantage, if you had co-operation among the different refuges in London, to work together on an uniform system?—I cannot say; I have no experience.

730. Cannot you express an opinion? Supposing the casual wards were to take undeserving cases or regular tramps, and the refuges the respectable men, and then all work on an uniform system, would it not be an advantage?—I would express no opinion. I know nothing at all about it.

731. So far as I can see, you do not do any reformatory work; you simply give a night's lodging?—Yes.

732. Without making any inquiries?—Yes. Inquiry would be useless.

733. And you cannot give us any opinion at all or any suggestion for improvement?—No, I cannot.

*By Mr. HANKEY.*

734. The Committee of the Houseless Poor Asylum is evidently most desirous to check the encouragement or maintenance of tramps and habitually dependent classes, and to that end they have made certain rules, that no known tramp or habitual vagrant is to be admitted to the asylum. That rule is strictly observed?—Yes.

735. Another point as regards the dietary—it consists of the barest sustenance?—Yes.

736. Everything to be as little attractive as possible?—Yes.

737. There are checks on re-admission—just tell the Committee what is the rule?—When they first come we give them a ticket for seven nights. They are supposed to come consecutively. We do not compel that, because a man may be away and get a job of work, and so save his ticket. Another rule is carried out, that a man shall be away fourteen days before he shall apply again, and then it is discretionary on my part to admit him.

738. As a rule he is not re-admitted?—No. With regard to the eases of women, we are less stringent than with men.

739. Did it ever come to your notice that we harbour any considerable number of soldiers?—We have had several soldiers—discharged soldiers.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

740. You don't ask them?—No.

*By Mr. HANKEY.*

741. As regards the position of the inmates, should you think about one-half belong to season trades, builders, painters, and so forth?—There may be one-third, perhaps a quarter. The majority of the remainder would be general labourers.

742. That is what they describe themselves. What do you suppose their real occupation to be?—General labourers, doing anything.

743. The people are treated more kindly and respectfully than at the casual ward?—I should think so; I don't know. We treat them firmly and kindly.

744. Do we get any very large number of young men?—Yes, we do.

745. I suppose among a good many who come to the shelter there are many losing their sense of respectability and independence and of responsibility to the community?—No, not a large number of these men.

*By Mr. EDGCOMBE.*

746. I think you said you treated them more kindly than they are treated in casual wards. Have you any personal knowledge of their treatment in casual wards?—Only what I have heard from people who go there.

747. I think you also said that they are mostly of a superior class?—Yes, I think so.

748. Supposing a casual did come, would he be admitted?—It would be impossible for us to tell who was a casual.

749. But if you were able?—You must ask the Admission Officer that question.

750. I understand that you have no reformatory machinery?—No, nothing at all; we have a City Missionary who comes to our place and addresses the men in the evening.



*By Mr. BOURNE.*

751. At what time are your men discharged in the morning?—About seven o'clock, but sooner if they like, if they have got work to go to. There are men to call them up for that purpose.

752. Do one-half wish to be let out before seven?—No, not a half.

753. Can you tell me about what percentage of the applicants who apply for admission are refused?—It would be on the second application.

754. No, I mean on the ground that they are tramps or regular casual ward hands?—Mr. Bayley, Mission Officer, will answer that question.

754A. Should you think you would have refused ten out of a hundred?—No, I should think not.

*By Miss TILLARD.*

755. Seven thousand : does that mean 7,000 fresh people or does it mean admissions?—7,000 different people.

756. It does not include re-admissions?—All fresh people.

757. Have you any sort of test to know whether they are in work? Are you quite sure they are out of work?—I should think so. We have no means of finding out, but they would not come to our place if they were in work.

758. Do you allow them to bring anything else in with them?—We do not search them ; they might have a bit of cheese.

759. You have no knowledge at all whether they are in work or not?—No.

760. Do you make any investigation at all?—The only investigation is their name, &c.

761. You do not ask them anything about their employers?—No.

762. Then you said that you did not think many of them had come down to this state through drink. If you do not make any investigation how do you know that?—Well, I cannot answer ; but we don't go into that matter.

763. You don't go into any matter of character at all?—We cannot go into that.

764. Have you any way of testing whether they are the same men who apply again and again?—We should know them by their faces. Mr. Bayley would know them, so should I.

765. Do you keep any of them longer if they have any chance of work?—Yes.

766. What are your beds? Are they hammocks?—No, they are coir.

767. No cover at all?—Yes, a large sheepskin. It takes four skins to make a cover.

768. Have you any test of cleanliness?—No ; we do not compel men to take a bath, but there are lavatories where they wash.

*By Mr. STAPYLTON.*

769. Do you find any difficulty in keeping the leathern coverings clean?—No.

770. At General Booth's place they take in anybody?—No, they pay their 4d.

771. In answer to a question regarding medical examination, Mr. Franks said that every man at the Houseless Poor Asylum was examined by a doctor.

772. Where do you send a man who has vermin about him? Do you send him to the Infirmary or casual ward?—It is left to the doctor.

773. I suppose you get a great many day labourers?—Yes.

774. If a man gets work may he stay the week, or at any rate until pay day?—We give him the privilege of staying until he gets his pay.

775. Do you have any opportunities for conversing with the men, so that you may detect any person who is not of the right sort and send him to the casual ward?—No, Mr. Bayley knows them.

776. Do you see the men before they go out?—Yes.

777. Are they open or closed wards?—There are a number of beds in each ward.

778. Witness detailed the religious services which consisted of devotional services on Sunday morning and evening, with an address by the missionary in the different wards on week-day evenings.

779. At other times, when service is not going on, what becomes of the men? Do they go out?—Oh, yes, all day.

780. Are they bound to go to chapel?—No, it is voluntary. If they stop we give them 3 oz. of cheese as an inducement; but as a rule there are so many breakfasts, they go in for them.

*By Mr. BARNARD.*

781. Is it not your experience that 'looking for work' among these casuals very frequently means going about the streets during the day selling matches, &c.?—I have never seen them.

782. You think your system of bread and water is sufficient to keep out such cases?—The men could not exist upon bread and water.

783. You don't think it is likely that the men get their food for 6d. a-day and come back to you at night for the sake of the lodging?—No, they have no 6d.

784. But you have only their word—you take no means to find out whether a man's statements are correct or not?—No, we have no other way.

785. You do not make inquiries occasionally?—In exceptional cases.

786. Do you find their statements are borne out by the answers?—We have.

787. You said that at the time of the snow there was a great diminution in your number?—They were at work clearing the snow away.

788. But don't you think that is very possibly because the class of men in London who live in common lodging-houses and in the streets are ready to do short jobs of light work who would refuse to do any steady work?—I should not think so.

789. You think these men will take regular work?—I should think so.

790. You have no experience of women?—No, I have not.

*By Mr. VALPY.*

791. Do you ever co-operate with local charitable agencies like the Charity Organisation Society?—No, sir.

792. Do not you think it would be a good thing?—We sent one case some years ago, that was the only attempt we made.

*By Mr. MADDISON.*

793. How many young people of 18 years do you receive in the course of the year?—Oh, I could not go into that matter. I should think we would not take any boys and girls by themselves.



*By Mr. BUCHANAN.*

794. Have you any agricultural labourers?—Yes, they state so.

795. Do you not think it would be far more useful to put yourself into communication with employers, and try to find them work?—(Answer lost.)

796. Now, you state that there are about six hundred general labourers that there is not enough work for, and you make no effort to find them work. Well, do not you think you would be far more useful if you did?—There is no doubt work could be found for them if an effort was made.

797. Could you pass on men to a labour bureau, who would undertake to find them work?—‘Yes, certainly,’ replied Mr. Hankey. ‘But we cannot put on a staff to find out labour for these men,’ said Mr. Franks.

798. Would you like to do it?—‘Very glad to have the opportunity,’ said Mr. Franks. ‘You could have fifty men if you wanted them,’ Mr. King added.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

799. You don’t usually re-admit people in the same winter?—Most of the men are fresh cases.

800. You have a rule against re-admission, have you not?—Yes.

801. You usually keep them only a week. In the census we took the other day, there were ten men admitted from December 1 to December 17, and they had been there continuously ever since?—They might have been there one or two days, and then come again.

802. But a period of six weeks had elapsed from the time of their admission to the date of the census?—If a man did not complete his full week, he might retain his ticket, and, on occasion arising, use it for that portion of the week that was unexpired.

803. So that there might be an interval of a month?—Yes.

804. Anyhow, these cases would be cases who had not been re-admitted, but only working out their seven days?—That is it—yes.

805. Looking at the large number of people you admit—something like 350 a night—do you think you would recognise them again after an interval of a month or two?—Yes, I think I should.

806. Do you find that a great many of your inmates are people who from time to time go to casual wards, or don’t they go at all?—I cannot answer that question.

807. Do not many of them speak of going to casual wards to get clean?—Well, they can get a bath there.

808. Don’t they speak of being in the habit of doing so?—No, they have not said so.

809. Do you recollect the Refuge ever having been full, or that you have had to refuse admission?—No, not of late years; twenty-five years back it was full.

810. In recent years it has never been full?—No, sir.

811. In regard to the numbers for whom you have accommodation, you spoke of 450, but are not the exact figures 378 men and 144 women?—I think they are.

*MR. W. J. BAILEY.*

*Examined by Mr. ALLEN, Chairman.*

812. You are Inspector and Admission Officer of the Banner Street Refuge?—I am.

813. Have you any other duties besides examining the applicants when

they come in and when they go out?—When they come in, it is important to see quiet and order.

814. Yes, but is it not your duty to note the class of people who come in?—Yes.

815. And if they are not the proper class to refuse them?—Yes, that is my duty.

816. Do you have to refuse many of them?—No, sir, not many. They are of the better class who come to the Asylum.

817. How long have you been there?—This is my eleventh season. I am only there during the winter.

818. Do you find any great improvement amongst the people who come to the Banner Street Refuge?—I am afraid I cannot say much in that respect.

819. Is it your opinion that the great majority of people who go there are men who have come down through drink or dishonesty, or dissipation?—Most probably that is the case with the majority, but I cannot say individually.

820. Are the majority broken-down men, physically incapable of doing a day's work?—(Answer lost.)

821. You have been a detective?—I have been in the City of London Police Force for thirty years.

822. You are probably then a good judge of character?—I know this class of people well.

823. Are these men who come to you men who would go to casual wards as well?—I cannot say; they dislike casual wards.

824. What is your opinion?—It is that they are a class who will not go to casual wards.

825. It is a totally different class that goes there?—Yes.

826. Why do they go to you in preference?—The shelter is everything and the bread most acceptable.

827. But the food is better in casual wards?—I am not aware of that.

828. As a matter of fact it is. In many of them the beds are better. Are sheep skins quite as warm as blankets?—Yes, I should think so.

829. Of course they are used for purposes of cleanliness?—Yes.

830. You have no bath there?—There is a lavatory. There is a bath, if they were to ask for one they could have it.

831. The Banner Street Refuge is simply a Refuge and nothing more. Your duties do not extend to finding work?—If you will allow me—in the snowy season, I made it my business to see if they wanted hands and sent some men to the Inspector of the Commissioners of Sewers. Then about 200 men went to work at, I think, 4*d.* an hour, but they did not have much to do, because it was soon cleared away. When they had done their work they came back to the Asylum.

832. They are men who would really do a day's work if they had got it?—Yes.

833. Are they general labourers who cannot get anything to do?—I made inquiry of several and found, as a rule, that men who are not mechanics call themselves labourers.

834. Have you any old soldiers who come?—Yes.

835. A good many?—No, a very small number. About four, I think, in a month.

836. With the internal management you have nothing whatever to do?—Nothing.



837. Are you called upon to make inquiry?—No, sir.

838. You simply see that from your judgment they are respectable people?—Yes.

*By Mr. HANKEY.*

839. It was stated by one of the Casual Ward Inspectors that this year he had a great number of countrymen. Have we had more than usual?—Not so many.

839A. You are satisfied that you succeed in excluding the majority of people that would come under the term tramps or loafers?—They do not come into the Asylum.

840. They are more or less people who have been stranded for the time being?—Yes.

841. Do you suppose there is any large interchange of people between our Asylum and casual wards?—No, I think not. I think they are distinct classes.

842. Do you think that you see the same faces again year after year?—There are a few this season that were there last year.

843. Taking one year with another should you recognise, do you recognise a considerable number of the same faces?—There would be a minority.

844. As regards the admission of women, are you more lenient?—Yes.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

845. Do you say that most of these people have come down through drink?—I have no doubt.

846. How can you tell it; does it show in their faces? Taking their general looks they do not look like drunkards?—No.

847. I have noticed a general disposition to charge these people with having come to grief through drink. Don't you consider that misfortune very often leads to drink, not always drink to misfortune?—Yes.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

848. Out of 100 who apply for admission how many should you say would be casual ward tramps?—Perhaps 5 per cent. are casuals.

849. Why is it, do you think, that these men do not apply in larger numbers. They know that you would not admit them, I suppose?—I expect that is the case. I used to turn them away.

850. Have you seen any of them come in the worse for drink?—Oh, no.

*By Mr. BARNARD.*

851. I should like to know, Mr. Bayley—of course you are a great judge of faces—when men are passing through so quickly as 100 an hour, do you think you could recognise any large number?—Yes.

852. Surely you have a very short look at their faces—less than a minute apiece?—I examine each one separately. I can recognise them after the lapse of twelve months.

853. That is your experience?—Yes.

*By Mr. VALPY.*

854. During the time you were a detective I suppose you had a considerable acquaintance with the people inhabiting common lodging-houses?—Yes.

855. Do you notice any of that class frequenting your Refuge?—No.

*By MR. GASKELL.*

856. Why is it that men who come to you would not go to a casual ward?—I have seen them in the street and they have told me they would not.

857. What, do you think, is the reason? Is the accommodation inferior?—I am told that in casual wards they have been kept some few hours to do a certain amount of work. Because they are kept so long they cannot seek work.

858. You think it is the detention?—Yes.

**MR. TUDDENHAM.**

*Examined by MR. ALLEN, Chairman.*

859. You are a City Missionary?—Yes, I have been 28 years. I visit Banner Street every night, health permitting.

860. What is your opinion of the different classes of men who go in different class refuges?—That it is hard they should be there.

861. You would not call them casuals?—No, nor yet thieves, but respectable working men who are there through misfortune. I often look and feel vexed to see such a class there.

862. Do you think they come there through drink?—No, not at all.

863. You could not tell?—I have much experience of London, and know that they are not like men who have brought themselves down.

864. Do you have any conversation with the men?—Not very much; my instructions are not to hinder the working of the house.

865. So that you cannot get into the confidence of the men?—No, you must get him alone, not in company.

866. Then you really have no opportunity of knowing?—No, I have not tested them in that way—the number is so great and it taxes my strength so much that I could not do it. I go every evening and spend an hour. I go into the wards and read a short portion, closing with prayer. The men are very attentive.

867. Have you formed any opinion, Mr. Tuddenham, yourself as to whether there might not be a better method of reclaiming and reforming these men?—No, it never entered my mind. I have wished something could be done to prevent men coming to London from the country.

868. The question came up just now about getting work in the country, and it was said that it is most difficult for a farmer to find work for the labourers?—I know that from experience, because I came away from the country myself from that.

869. Why should not people in the country keep them?—But they have nothing for them to do.

870. You cannot give us any assistance in the way of improving the system?—No, I cannot.

871. In regard to the class you see in the common lodging-houses you visit, is that the same as it was 25 years ago?—Yes, I had free access to some half dozen. There is no person in the class who comes to the Houseless Poor Asylum.

872. Has that class improved since you first began this work?—Yes; I have been there 27 years—this is my 28th season in connection with the Houseless Poor Asylum.



*By Mr. BOURNE.*

873. Do you think it would be possible to turn men who had lived about London into agricultural labourers?—Not very easy.

874. But with training you think it might be done?—I don't know.

*By Mr. BARNARD.*

875. With regard to the class of men living in Golden Lane, is there very much improvement?—No, not in Golden Lane, but in the Houseless Poor Asylum.

876. You do not think that the class in common lodging-houses has improved?—I do not see much difference.

877. Do you think lodging-houses are more comfortable now?—I do not know. You will find more about that in a little book lately published by the London City Mission.

878. You do not think that persons using the lodging houses in the summer make use of the Refuges in the winter?—Very little. Mr. King would not admit them.

879. What number of agricultural labourers do you find in your Refuge?—I cannot say.

880. Do men who describe themselves as farm labourers come up frequently?—I cannot say.

881. You do not think they are very numerous?—I think there is something about them that they belong to that class.

882. How do agricultural labourers find Banner Street Refuge —I don't know, unless it is the police who direct them. We get men from Australia, New Zealand, India, North and South America, and everywhere. It is a mystery to me how they know of it.

*By Mr. VALPY.*

883. Then a knowledge of your Refuge has got into the country?—Yes.

883A. We have heard that there are a large number of free breakfasts and free dinners given away in the neighbourhood?—Yes.

883B. Then by taking advantage of this, many of the Banner Street inmates manage to eke out a living?—Yes.

EVIDENCE TAKEN FEBRUARY 20, 1891.

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*Present*—MR. J. H. ALLEN, *in the Chair*.

Mr. R. A. VALPY.	Mr. A. DUNN GARDNER.
„ H. STAPYLTON.	„ H. C. BOURNE.
„ W. E. FRANKS.	Miss H. L. HAMILTON
Major LUTLEY JORDAN.	(for Rev. W. H. Hunt).
Mr. F. J. S. EDGCOMBE.	Mr. A. J. S. MADDISON.
„ E. BARNARD.	Miss TILLARD.
„ R. HEDLEY.	Mr. G. E. P. GASKELL ( <i>Secretary</i> ).

MR. VALLANCE (*Clerk to the Whitechapel Board of Guardians*).

*Examined by* Mr. J. H. ALLEN, *Chairman*.

884. Mr. Vallance, you are clerk to the Whitechapel Board of Guardians?—Yes.

885. You have some experience of the casual ward system?—Yes, a considerable experience at the Whitechapel casual ward.

886. And you have formed some decided opinion as to how the system ought to be managed in future?—I have long entertained the opinion, and have given expression to it, that it is desirable in the interests of the community as well as that of the poor that the distinction between the ordinary and casual pauper should be abolished. I simply gave that as my opinion, the result of experience.

887. We have had the evidence, Mr. Vallance, of four casual ward superintendents and three inspectors of the Local Government Board, and they all pretty nearly agree that there is not more than 5 or 10 per cent. at the outside who can be called *bonâ fide* working men.—That would be my opinion; quite the outside average.

887A. Also their evidence is unanimous that many of these men come in through the effects of drink, or dishonesty, or laziness.—Yes, I feel that there are cases in which men have drifted into the casual ward for the first time no doubt from some misconduct or out of an aimless life, and having drifted into the casual ward, have become habitual casuals.

888. Their evidence also goes to show that they do not think much good can be done by way of reforming the great majority.—No.

889. Have you had any experience amongst refugees?—No, I have visited a Salvation Army shelter this morning for the first time.



890. No experience at all?—I have interrogated men and women who have been in shelters when they have been before the Committee at the workhouse, and that has been the extent of my experience.

891. So far as we have gone the examination of refuge officials goes to show that a better class of persons go into refuges than into the casual wards; what is your opinion?—Well, I am really unable to say, but I know that a good many who come into our workhouse have been in casual wards, refuges, and common lodging-houses, having migrated from one to another.

892. But you have not any other experience to form an opinion as to whether they would go to the refuge rather than the casual ward?—Probably, but I am really unable to say as to the reality.

893. Mr. Vallance, I think you have told us that the casual ward ought to be abolished and all persons received into the workhouse?—Yes, that the distinction between ordinary and casual poor should be abolished.

894. There are two or three objections to that, and I should like you to hear one. Some workhouses are some distance out of London, and it might be difficult to send homeless people five miles out of London who come for shelter at five or six o'clock in the evening?—Yes, but I take it there are, or would be, a workhouse in every Union.

895. Another objection is that at a good many of our workhouses we certainly could not find room; we should require extra room in our workhouses if we were to abolish casual wards?—The casual ward would not be abolished, it would be converted into a receiving house for the workhouse, or, at all events, become an adjunct to the workhouse. On the other hand, if the casual ward system is to be maintained, I take it that the casual wards will have to be increased in number so as to correspond exactly with the workhouses.

896. You don't intend to do away with them altogether, but make them part of the workhouse?—The pauper's claim to parochial relief is destitution, and I think all should be relieved in one way; and that side by side with the humane treatment of paupers in the first instance, there should be the deterrent of a much longer detention.

897. Do you not think perhaps, supposing the casual wards were abolished, it would give a very great stimulus to the provision of more refuges in London?—Well, that depends upon the way in which it is set about. Merely to abolish the casual wards and say that every one must go into the workhouse would no doubt have the effect of stimulating the provision of these voluntary refuges, but I have long felt that there is a weakness in our administration, in the way in which orders are given for admission to the workhouse. This has been broken down in the case of the casual wards. There the relieving officer is inside the door, but for ordinary paupers the relieving officer is outside the door. Theoretically he is bound to make inquiry, but in practice it comes to this: the relieving officer has to deal with a case of destitution immediately it comes before him, and he has seldom the means of making the exhaustive inquiry which he is theoretically supposed to make. But, did the practice accord with that of the casual ward, the applicant for relief would simply have to plead his destitution at the door of the workhouse, whilst the real investigation by an outside officer would take place subsequently; and, in the cases of habitual paupers, a deterrent would be found in an extension of the powers of detention under the Pauper Inmates' Discharge and Regulation Act. The *bond fide* wayfarer could be allowed to leave the morning after admission without hindrance. But, when I speak of the workhouse, I assume that it is at

once a well-regulated workhouse, and that there is associated with it a system of co-operation by outside agencies, with a view to the rescue of helpable people.

898. Failing this plan of yours being adopted, do you think it would be a good plan if all the casual wards in the metropolis were under one management and uniform system?—I am not sure there would be any advantage in a centralised administration, uniformity being already secured so far as structural arrangements admit.

899. Should you advocate the open or the cell system?—Well, there is no doubt the cell system is the more efficient system if the arrangements for work were a little different. I am not quite sure whether the repressive feature is not a little too prominent.

900. But does not the cell system prove deterrent to habitual tramps, and is it not looked upon with greater pleasure by an honest *bonâ fide* working man, as he is kept by himself?—I have had no actual experience of the working of the cell system; but assuming that the honest wayfarer would gladly accept the provision made for him in the cellular ward, then I say the cellular ward is everything that can be desired. In the case of the habitual vagrant, it acts as a deterrent; but I am a little distrustful of a system which is merely deterrent and in no sense educational.

901. Going back to the subject of refuges, do you think a refuge might act as a kind of reformatory for casual wards; that they might take the better class of cases into the refuge, leaving the tramps to the casual wards?—No doubt that is the right direction, because you have cases which, if helpable, can be sifted and sent to a refuge to be dealt with. I may say we have entered into arrangements with Baggaley Street Refuge, and one or two every night are selected by the superintendent as those likely to respond to efforts on their behalf.

902. Then you are near to the refuge?—No, it is a good mile away.

903. Are you able to send them the same night?—Yes. It is a distinct understanding that we do not send casuals. The arrangement has been in operation now about three months.

904. Has it answered?—Well, so far, I have not heard from the secretaries the result of their dealing with these individuals.

905. Do you think that if any uniform system of administration were adopted it should be carried out by a central body, because the different Boards of Guardians would pursue different systems?—No, already the administration of the casual ward does not come so closely under the Board of Guardians as that of the workhouse; the nightly visits of special inspectors bringing the administration more closely into touch with the Local Government Board.

906. In addition to that you think the refuges and the casual wards might work together?—That would no doubt be the desirable course.

*By* MR. GARDNER.

907. And that is how the reformatory part would come in?—Yes. I might just add that long before the present arrangement was undertaken the present Bishop of Bedford undertook to deal with cases referred to him. He used to visit us very frequently, and many cases were referred to him, and he dealt with them individually, so that the deterrent character of the administration was co-existent with reformatory and educational effort.



908. When you propose to do away with the casual wards—or as you term it, classify them into the workhouses—how would you deal with them?—Well, I consider that in a well-regulated workhouse the paupers should be dissociated as much as possible in their work and occupations; and where this system is carried out the classification is automatic. This distribution of labour is irksome to the habitual pauper, whilst it is protective to the man who is driven into the workhouse by stress of circumstances. In the Whitechapel Workhouse, the aim is to dissociate in useful and varied labour, and in the evening hours, with the aid of ‘mental instructors,’ to exercise restraint upon idle conduct and conversation, apart from their general helpfulness. The real defect is in our dormitory arrangements, which are associated; but if we were extending accommodation, I have no doubt the Guardians would seek power to provide a separate dormitory at least for each able-bodied pauper.

909. Would you introduce the cellular system?—I do not mean a dormitory in which the paupers would be locked, but merely separate rooms.

*By Mr. STAPYLTON.*

910. How many do you suppose you would get in that way?—Probably we should provide for thirty or forty men and, say, about thirty women. But whether single dormitories are provided or not, I should certainly prefer small dormitories to large ones.

911. You were asked about putting all casual wards under a central body. Don't you think all the essential points might be met by a Local Government Board order?—The administration of a metropolitan casual ward is now in its details regulated by order of the Local Government Board. But of course the point in which one casual ward differs from another is in the fact that long before the more modern cellular wards were provided the associated wards were in existence.

912. They are not all working under the Local Board now, are they? It was left to the discretion of the superintendent to determine if he was a respectable working man in all cases, I think some witness said?—That was with regard to Hampstead, said the Chairman.

913. In choosing a case for the refuge, do you have any difficulty? I understand you do at taking in. How many do you take in?—We have accommodation for fifty-five men and fourteen women, and I suppose we should average forty men and seven or eight women. Last night we had thirty-four men in the casual ward—twenty-two admitted, and the remainder the previous day's detention; women, three admitted, two detained.

914. So that in that case it would not be so very hard to make a man stand back to inquire a little more about him?—Exactly so.

915. I don't think that is in the law?—The law does not provide for any interrogation other than that in relation to the alleged destitution.

*By Mr. BOULTON.*

916. Do you provide separate accommodation for the married couples?—Yes, we provide four rooms for aged married couples, but the difficulty is to find couples to put in them.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

917. In order to carry out your plan you would require to have compulsory powers of detention which you have not at present?—Clearly, to a much greater extent.

918. You say there are only about 10 per cent. of what you would call working men among those admitted to the casual ward. Would there be more than that who, supposing you were in close co-operation with the shelters, you think could be sent to the shelter with the view of reform?—Not if the same class resorted to the casual ward, as at present.

919. There are two classes that require further treatment, one morally in the way of help, the other materially, and this is the larger class, who could not be helped without considerable change in their character.

920. Do you think that in the second class it would be quite useless to attempt to deal with the habitual casuals, say up to the age of 30?—I think that if a casual up to the age of 30 has drifted into the casual ward or workhouse under such a system as I propose, and if he can be kept there compulsorily, say for two or three months, and trained to industrial work, taught to work, and given the habit of work, that man will not only not leave the workhouse worse than he came in, but considerably better, and possibly with a desire to work.

921. Do you think his physique would admit of his becoming a regular labourer?—His physique would improve under such conditions. Naturally all casuals are not alike as regards physique.

922. I suppose the majority would not be up to the standard of army chest measurement, health, and so forth?—I am unable to say.

*By Mr. EDGCOMBE.*

923. I gather, Mr. Vallance, that you very much wish to see amalgamation between the casual and workhouse system. I should like you to explain what advantage that system would have over the present system?—Whilst deterrent, it would be more educational, it would be more helpful, it would afford opportunity for co-operation with outside agencies, and it would tend to stem the tide of vagrancy.

924. Is it not one of the disadvantages of the present casual ward system that a man has gone away before any influence can be brought to bear upon him?—Yes, certainly, supposing he is amenable to good influences.

925. Even supposing you see some chance of bringing educational machinery to bear upon him?—Yes. My own experience in the White-chapel workhouse is that these educational influences do not impair the deterrent character of the administration. I think our workhouse will compare favourably with any in London as regards the small number of able-bodied paupers.

926. The powers of detention that you wish to be placed in the hands of the Guardians would apply to all classes of inmates?—Yes, with necessary safeguards.

*By Miss TILLARD.*

927. Do you have many soldiers in the casual ward?—Not a large number.

928. Do you find out that they are soldiers or do they tell you?—It is my impression that the superintendent is careful to ask.

929. Do you find more casuals when the refuges are closed?—The number now is comparatively small, and the superintendent attributes the smallness to the fact that so many refuges are open.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

930. Do you refer to General Booth's refuges?—In part; also to such winter refuges as Banner Street.



*By Miss TILLARD.*

931. Do you think the same class of men go to the refuges as to the casual ward, or are they different classes?—I am really unable to say.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

932. With regard to the casual wards, you have just stated that they are less full when the refuges are open, now can you tell me in what months this is?—I am unable at present to say which months.

933. Because that is very important to know. Of course the refuges close at various times, but I know the times at which the Banner Street Refuge closes, and I should have liked to have known what was the increased number who come to your casual wards in any particular year.—During a portion of the year we are full, and if we are full, we get sixty-nine. The number now is comparatively small. There were only thirty-nine last night.

934. About what months does this increase take place?—I am unable to say, without reference.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

935. You would be able to send us figures as to that?—Yes, certainly.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

936. And you spoke, I think, of a large percentage of those who go to casual wards being incorrigible?—A large number are incorrigible there is no doubt.

937. And yet you speak of the great opportunities there are for reformation?—Well, when I hear a man say that he has been tramping about for eight years in and out of casual wards, and that the time was when he would very gladly have responded to an offer of work, but that such an offer was now too late, I feel that there is too much reason to fear that many of these hopeless cases were at one time hopeful.

938. We are to understand that no influence whatever is brought to bear upon them?—The casual ward system is a repressive system. There is now an arrangement under which the curate from Spitalfields Church comes on Sundays and holds a service.

939. Would it be allowed in any casual ward?—I should think so.

*By Mr. BARNARD.*

940. Don't you think that refuges that take in men wholesale are a mistake, and that it would be much better to take in a smaller number?—Undoubtedly. The work of reformation can only be carried out individually.

941. And that the refuges that are taking them in by hundreds are really doing more harm than good?—Yes.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

942. If provision is made for some kind of spiritual oversight of all these people, do you think then that that answer would apply?—I think it must necessarily do more harm than good, unless there is individual dealing, some distinct effort to get a man or woman into honest, industrious ways of life.

*By* MR. BARNARD.

943. But supposing they only come for a few nights. Do you think that before spiritual help is given that it is rather necessary to give bodily help?—Yes, but we were speaking of the destitute casual poor. I feel that the State can best deal with such cases, except so far as they may be eliminated by voluntary effort.

*By* MR. VALPY.

944. Do I understand that you would be in favour of a system of visiting casual wards?—Distinctly in favour of it.

945. Have you formed any opinion as to the efforts of charitable people or associations to get these men work? Would you kindly give us your view?—As to the extent of success?

946. As to the desirability of it?—Well, I think it is desirable. Of course it is open to the same objection as applies to any organisation for the purpose of doing that which it might be assumed a man should do for himself. I think the balance of advantage is in the direction of giving a man the opportunity of recovering his position.

947. What steps do you think it advisable to take with that object?—I think if a man responds to the effort and shows a desire to get an honest livelihood that it may be open to some objection, but at the same time I think it an advantage that he should be assisted into employment. From one point of view it may be urged as a mistake to assist a man into employment, but I think the balance of advantage is in favour of assistance.

948. Do you think there is any danger, if such a plan were carried out, of men who are already in employment being thrown out of that employment?—No, I think not.

949. You have never yourself known an instance?—No.

950. With regard to these special organisations, such as refuges for the homeless, do you think they tend at all to bring up people from the country?—I have no doubt that they do add to the attractions of London. The ready way in which food and shelter can be obtained, and that by the least worthy class, must offer an inducement.

951. And that opinion would also be applicable to the provision of free breakfasts and dinners?—Yes.

952. Have you ever known an instance of these attractions proving attractive to people from abroad?—No, I have not.

953. I believe in your Whitechapel workhouse you have a very admirable system of industrial work and mental instruction?—I think so.

954. Now have you been able to form any opinion as to the effectiveness of the industrial work on the character of these people?—Yes, I have formed a very strong opinion that it has operated beneficially, as it has given a man a stimulus to exertion outside. It also occasions the least loss of self-respect, whilst at the same time a man naturally grows dissatisfied to be called upon to do that for nothing for which he might earn wages outside.

955. In the various forms of industrial work which you adopt, you think that in a certain time it gives a stimulus to go out and get work?—Yes. No matter how useful or profitable to the guardians a man may be, he receives nothing but the usual dietary.

956. With regard to the system of mental instruction, have you been able to trace any result or to form any opinion as to its value?—I have not



been able to tabulate the results, but the reports of the mental instructors go to show that a goodly number who have received the so-called mental instruction—I say so-called, because it is not really instruction, it is occupation, such as reading with them—have expressed themselves grateful for the trouble taken on their behalf.

957. Do you think that if this class only were to be placed for any length of time in a refuge provided by charity, and some similar method to what you have adopted put into force, that it would be a desirable thing?—Are you referring to selected cases or the general run?

958. Selected cases?—Yes, I see no objection at all. Of course, as in the workhouse, you would have to be extremely careful that in your work you did not interfere unduly with the labour market.

959. There would be that danger?—Yes.

960. Unless it were safeguarded it would hardly be desirable?—It would have to be safeguarded.

*By Mr. HEDLEY.*

961. How long are casuals kept?—The term mentioned in the Order. They are discharged the second morning after admission, excepting where detained at the instance of the visiting inspector.

962. Then they are in one day. How do you suggest that in that short time any instruction could be given to benefit mentally?—I am not suggesting that casuals are susceptible of any such arrangement. I have always expressed a desire that voluntary effort should be brought to bear upon those who are helpable.

*By Major JORDAN.*

963. Don't you think that casual wards, as at present constituted, help to provide for a certain class? Would they not turn their hands to some work if they were not certain of a bed in the casual ward?—Doubtless a workhouse or casual ward must be more or less deterrent.

964. Don't you know that the casual ward provides for a certain class in its present state—that these men would not go into the workhouse?—The casual ward is meant to provide for a certain class. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the workhouse and casual ward are interchangeable as far as a large number are concerned.

965. What do you do as regards the children? I think you have handed over some to the police, owing to your being without a woman's assistance?—No, we have not. The children we have come in with their mothers and are under the care of a female officer.

966. I mean with the object of being put into a reformatory or home, or dealt with in some other way?—We have very few children indeed.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

967. With regard to your proposal to put the casual ward on the same footing as the workhouse, I suppose any destitute person has the right even now to go into the workhouse if he prefers it?—Undoubtedly. A man without a regular residence or settlement can go to the relieving officer and demand admission to the workhouse, but it is useless to disguise the fact that the very existence of the casual ward offers an inducement to guardians and their officer to keep these people there, rather than open their doors too wide to receive the indigent poor from all parts of London.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

968. In the event of substituting the workhouse for the casual ward, and using a period of detention in the workhouse for reformatory purposes, would not a difficulty arise from questions of settlement?—I think the settlement difficulties are being settled for themselves. The fact is, in Whitechapel the law of settlement is almost a dead letter. We simply fall back upon our administration; seeking so to administer as not to encourage pauperism, and avoiding expenditure in settlement inquiries as much as possible.

The CHAIRMAN mentioned that in the Kensington casual ward a service is held by a gentleman—a volunteer—once a week, and that the chaplain of the adjacent workhouse gave some attention to the casuals.

Mr. VALLANCE added that there were in Whitechapel 7,132 common lodging-house beds, 411 in Salvation Army shelters, 300 in other shelters, and 31 in a Jewish shelter, making a total of 7,874 beds.

*By Mr. VALPY.*

969. Do you find that the inmates of common lodging-houses contribute very much to the workhouse population?—Very largely.

970. You cannot say what proportion, I suppose?—Roughly, I should say 50 per cent. or more.

971. Do they also come from the casual wards?—Oh, yes. The common lodging-houses feed our infirmary more than they do the workhouse.

972. In reply to Mr. STAPYLTON, Mr. Vallance said he would furnish a report containing particulars of the system adopted in the Whitechapel workhouse.

MR. HAROLD E. BOULTON (*House of Shelter*).

*Examined by Mr. ALLEN.*

973. You are one of the Committee of the House of Shelter?—Yes, I am the founder. It was founded by another man and myself. It is managed now by two people, Mr. Leonard Noble and myself, with the aid of Mr. Eric Buchanan as Hon. Sec., and eight or ten other voluntary workers. We have a paid superintendent.

974. In your last report, that for 1890, it is stated that you admitted on an average in the month of November twenty-two persons—your average would be under thirty each night?—Yes.

975. Was there any great pressure by reason of the people wanting to come in?—No, there is plenty of room, especially this winter. I think one night it reached something like forty-eight, but the admittances have been exceptionally low this winter. We have room for fifty-five, and the accommodation can be arranged for men or women.

976. What class of men are they, Mr. Boulton, whom you receive, are you able to tell us?—Well, of course my experience of casual wards and workhouses is almost *nil*. I can only imagine that they are a different class.

977. Are they *bonâ fide* working men?—Certainly, a great many of them.

978. How many do you think—would you say half?—Yes, I should think half.



979. I see that of the class of persons who are admitted, a large proportion consists of unskilled labourers and discharged soldiers?—Yes. Perhaps I ought to qualify the *bond fide* working man by saying there are some very superior men who come to us, men who would not go to a casual ward. We have now a solicitor's clerk who has just succeeded in getting a place after a great deal of trouble. We also have an artist. We do distinctly get a higher class sort of people.

980. What do you do in the case of old soldiers? Do you get them work?—Yes, it depends if they have got a good discharge. It is comparatively easy to get them something in time. I should think that more than half of these soldiers have got good discharges.

981. Do you try to get them into the Corps of Commissionaires?—That is one method, but we can also get them labouring work of various kinds.

982. Mr. Vallance has told us that cases are sent from the Whitechapel casual ward to your shelter, have you had many from there?—I think from what Mr. Vallance tells me that a great many drop by the way. He professes to have sent four or five of an evening, but we have had only a few every week. I think they must have been more of the casual ward class than of our class.

983. You keep them for a fortnight, do you not?—Oh, no, there is no rule at all. It depends upon the circumstances of the case. A man answers the usual questions, and a printed form is despatched the same night to persons whom he says he has worked for, and he is provisionally given one or two nights, according as you think it may be required. If they have given false names and addresses, the probability is that they will not return a second night.

984. Is the percentage of impostors large or small?—It is not a very large percentage; I should think perhaps 25 per cent., not more than that.

985. Can you account for the large majority being single men? I see it is said in the report that only about 13 per cent. represent themselves as married?—I have been told that many men are in the habit of putting their wives in the workhouse and walking about by themselves, trying to get work, and representing themselves as single.

986. As a matter of fact they are not single?—I do not believe for a moment that half of them are single. I think they have left their wives in order to move about better.

987. You think a certain percentage of the men that come to you are helpable cases?—I do not say they are cases I can successfully help, but I may, perhaps, do some good.

988. Have you watched those cases that have been given employment and found if they have kept their places and turned out good men?—Some have and some have not. I know of men who have retained their employment for three years.

989. Would you say that half turned out well?—It is impossible to say, because they go to so many different places, we cannot follow them all up.

990. I see you have got all trades here?—Yes.

991. But the great majority are unskilled labourers?—Yes.

992. And that is a most difficult person to get work for?—Yes, I suppose it is, except that we are extremely lucky. We have several large employers of labour who accept our cases, and put them to rough work.

993. Supposing you had not started this refuge, they would have gone to the casual ward?—Or to some other refuge; there are plenty, I imagine.

994. Do you think that refugees, to be useful refugees, ought to be reform-

atory and places for help, not merely places to give a man a night's shelter?—Oh, certainly.

995. What diet do you give?—First night, nothing but bread and water. If in reply to the printed form there is a letter to say he's an honest man, then, until that man is found work, he gets two twopenny food tickets every day.

996. Do you give them a bath or anything of that kind?—There is a bath, they can take it if they like.

997. What do they sleep on?—They sleep on mattresses stuffed with cocoanut fibre and covered with American cloth.

998. Have you any idea how the system with regard to the casual poor generally in London could be improved? or do you think yours is the best?—No, I certainly do not think that. I think an interchange of systems would be one way out of the difficulty. I do not suppose anything would prove a panacea.

*By Miss TILLARD.*

999. Do you take steps to provide men with any other than unskilled labour?—Oh, yes, we have people—private individuals I mean—who will give all sorts of people a trial. I have known domestic servants taken from the shelter.

1,000. But then does not that take away labour from other people?—No, I do not think so. I think very often employers are in want of men.

1,001. Do you make the men take the trouble to get work for themselves, or do you do it for them?—Certainly, as much as we can.

1,002. You don't let him go entirely on his own merits, you use some private influence?—Very often we tell men to insert advertisements and we will pay the cost.

1,003. Do you keep them long?—If a man is of good character we will keep him any amount of time.

1,004. Do you have many young ones?—No, hardly any of them.

1,005. Do you find men come back again?—A very small number do. I think they are ashamed to come back.

1,006. Do you think you know when a man is an honest sort of fellow? Can you distinguish him?—No, I think you may be continually taken in. We communicate with previous employers, and if the reference is in London, the superintendent calls on them.

*By Mr. BARNARD.*

1,007. You say you are able to help at least 25 per cent., do you not?—Well, now, I do not know. There are 25 per cent. perhaps that might be helped. I remember one winter we knew we had helped 15 per cent.

1,008. What I want to know is whether the men have not really been sifted out beforehand, and that only the better class come to you?—I think we are not comfortable enough for casuals.

1,009. But the working men you get, are they the sort of men that have been living in common lodging-houses?—No.

1,010. Then they are a better class?—Yes, I think they are people with broken-up homes, in great distress.

1,011. Are you of opinion that in all these refuges the number that they can help is limited?—I am very strongly in favour of small refuges, because the amount of influence is limited.



*By Mr. GARDNER.*

1,012. About this inquiry part of your work, how many does your refuge hold?—Fifty-five, but we do not have more than thirty.

1,013. Does a worker take each of these cases in hand, see it through, and influence it in any way?—Yes, there is a rough inquiry made first, after which, if the result proves satisfactory, every effort is made to get a man employment.

1,014. You do try to get him work?—Yes, we consider that if a man has got a thoroughly good character he has a moral right to stay in the refuge.

1,015. You rather lay yourselves out to find work?—Yes.

*By Mr. STAPYLTON.*

1,016. You have a Committee which meets pretty often and examines the cases?—There is no Committee really, because the refuge is practically supported by private friends of the two of us. Then we get other friends to come down, and there are one or two gentlemen who take up these good cases.

1,017. You said you gave a man two twopenny food tickets when he is proved to be of good character. Is that enough to prevent a man falling back?—is that all he has?—I am afraid that very often that is all he gets. Sometimes an individual worker gives him more, but that is all we can afford to do. We think we ought to make it as hard as possible.

1,018. But how about this solicitor's clerk; would not he go back very much?—He had someone who took him up and helped him. We also get grants from the Mendicity Society. We give bread, in addition, which would be just enough to keep a man.

1,019. How many do you suppose you have?—There are about half a dozen men who help more than one day a week each. Each worker puts his initials to each case he takes up.

*By Mr. BARNARD.*

1,020. I should like to know whether you are in favour of visitors from other refuges, with the view of pointing out the frequent cases?—I should like to see a travelling inspector appointed.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

1,021. What percentage of your men have suffered through drink?—I should say a tolerably large number.

1,022. Should you think half?—I don't like to make shots at percentages. I would not be surprised if you proved to me that it was half.

*By Mr. EDGCOMBE.*

1,023. You stated that you get some reduced members of the upper classes. Do you find that their antecedents will bear the test of investigation?—They have had falls, and are not absolutely perfect.

1,024. Is it not the case that those who mostly come are periodically out of work at certain times of the year?—Yes.

1,025. It is possible that their stay with you is only naturally during the slack season?—Yes.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

1,026. For how long are you open?—Only six months.

1,027. Do you find many come from the country?—Not so many lately as the first two or three years we started.

1,028. With regard to finding work for them, don't you think it would be a very great advantage if employers of labour would send round to the refuges?—Yes, certainly.

1,029. Don't you think it would be very much better if we had co-operation of all the refuges, and that such a society as the Charity Organisation Society might very properly put themselves into communication with employers of labour and let us know about it?—I find a great difficulty in getting employers of labour to say they will take men from the refuge.

1,030. Do you make any provision on Sunday for them?—There is a service held on Sunday by people from Oxford House.

*By Mr. VALPY.*

1,031. You say you have taken in 1,640 from the streets; does that mean 1,640 individuals?—Yes. The number of admissions is tabulated also.

1,032. But out of these 1,640 individuals you have been able to help only ninety-five?—It comes to that.

1,033. Do you ever send cases to the Charity Organisation Society?—Sometimes we do, and sometimes we take investigated cases from the Charity Organisation Society.

1,034. You mostly investigate your own cases?—Yes, by means of our superintendent and the Mendicity Society, of which I am a manager.

1,035. You said you found work for several of these people. What forms of help have you adopted?—We emigrate a certain number every year.

1,036. Have you done that yourself, or through the recognised agencies?—Through the Self-Help and East End Emigration Societies.

1,037. I think at one time you emigrated on your own account?—No.

1,038. Are the results in the main good?—The results last year were extremely good. We only sent out sixteen, I think to Canada.

1,039. What are these twopenny food tickets, are they drawn on coffee shops?—Yes.

1,040. Do you not think that if the refuges combine to find employment for these agricultural labourers in London it would have the effect of preventing some unfortunate Londoners from obtaining work?—I do not know that the Londoners would not have an equal chance of work.

1,041. You don't think it would have any bad effect?—Not more than the present bad effect. I think it is bad now.

1,042. Do you help many by sending them back?—Yes, a very fair amount.

1,043. You cannot say what number?—No, I should think perhaps not more than 2 or 3 per cent.

*By Mr. MADDISON.*

1,044. Can you give us any idea of the results of those cases sent on by Mr. Vallance?—Very disappointing. It seems to show that these cases are sifted before they reach the casual ward. Almost every one has been a casual ward case and unhelpable.



1,045. You think it undesirable to have a refuge without actively endeavouring to find employment?—I think so.

1,046. And that it is mainly by personal influence that you are able to get these employment?—Yes. In fact personal influence is the secret of success.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

1,047. Don't you think that getting work for these men must inevitably result in throwing other persons out of work? You don't increase the demand for labour?—No, but I have correspondents in Buckinghamshire who look out for labourers all the winter.

1,048. I am speaking rather of finding labour for them in London.—I should not like to find labour in London for countrymen if they could be sent back to the country.

1,049. Do you find that while you are seeking work for men who know that you are doing so, it discourages them from looking out for themselves?—It depends upon a man's character. There is always that danger.

1,050. Do you put pressure on them then to make efforts for themselves?—Yes.

1,051. In regard to those casuals who Mr. Vallance says were sent to you, but who never arrived, do you think the reason would probably be that they knew you would investigate and feared it?—I think they know every refuge and shelter off by heart.

*By Mr. GARDNER.*

1,052. I take it that in your refuge the cause of distress is, more or less, simply out of work? You would not have a drunkard or a confirmed loafer, they would go at once?—Yes, I think so.

1,053. You look upon it as your business to provide them with work if you can?—I am prepared at all events to put it on the ground of taking them for a time rather than they should be living in casual wards or workhouses.

1,054. Practically upon the same principle as at General Booth's work-shops?—Yes, practically the same.

1,055. I gathered that 95 out of 100 were marked off as satisfactorily helped?—No, not so large a proportion as that; 95 were helped to get work, eight got work on their own account out of 1,640.

MR. STEVENS (*Ham Yard Refuge*).

*Examined by Mr. ALLEN, Chairman.*

1,056. You are superintendent of the Ham Yard Hospice and Soup Kitchen?—Yes.

1,057. The greater part of your work I see is not in the hospice, but in the soup kitchen?—Yes, we have only twenty beds in the hospice.

1,058. For males or females?—All males, we do not admit females.

1,059. So that practically there is not very much to ask you. All we are dealing with now is the question of homeless people. I see in your report that the admissions last year were 292 men. Is that during the whole year?—Yes.

1,060. Are you open all the year round?—Yes.

1,061. What is about the average number for each night?—Well, we cannot have more than twenty.

1,062. Are you always full?—Oh, no, sometimes not.

1,063. During this last winter have you had any very great pressure on your accommodation?—No, rather the contrary. One of the wards of our

refuge is closed at Christmas time, when we are busy preparing plum puddings, &c. We have been really slacker this year.

1,064. Out of the twenty beds, how many do you think you would have vacant on an average?—Sometimes four or five. Perhaps for three or four nights four or five, then fill up. We seldom have to send any away for want of room. We may have to keep a man out one night.

1,065. Where do you keep him?—Most probably send him to the casual ward to get cleansed.

1,066. Then when you take them in you keep them for a fortnight?—Yes; sometimes longer.

1,067. What is the object in keeping them a fortnight?—To give a man an opportunity of looking round.

1,068. Do you do anything for him?—He gets all his meals, and runs about.

1,069. Do you do anything in the way of getting work?—Really, I have no time. They must do it for themselves.

1,070. Do you think it a good plan that they should do it for themselves?—Yes.

1,071. About the class of men who come to your hospice, would you call them *bonâ fide* working men or otherwise?—Oh, yes, I think they are *bonâ fide* working men?—Some follow various trades, some domestic servants, and so on.

1,072. Do you think you would class all these 292 as *bonâ fide* working men?—Yes.

1,073. Men who would work?—Yes.

1,074. How is it they have come down?—In some cases through their own fault. Through drink, probably, is the plain and short of it.

1,075. You said just now that when some of them come to you in a dirty state you would send them to the casual ward to be cleansed. Do you have many such cases?—Yes, rather; in fact the poor are very much dirtier than they were five or six years ago, particularly since General Booth's shelters have been opened. At one time out of five or six you would find two dirty; now I have to send five out of six. I inspect them myself very minutely; I could not trust anyone else to do it.

1,076. What sort of bedding do they have?—Clean sheets, two mattresses, and so forth. The accommodation is a great deal too good for them.

1,077. What do they have to eat?—Ordinary meals: tea for breakfast, generally some pickings of meat, and dripping; jam or marmalade for tea. We make them all do some little work, such as housework, making the beds, &c.

1,078. One would have thought that situated as you are down in Windmill Street, and having such good accommodation, you would have been crammed full every night?—It is very seldom I have to send one away. We usually make them bring a letter from some one that knows them or from the Charity Organisation Society.

1,079. The fact of having to bring a letter of recommendation or submit to inquiry would, no doubt, prevent a great many people coming to the hospice?—No doubt it does.

1,080. Do you get many cases over and over again?—Yes, a few, but we do not admit them within six months. Sometimes we give a man a second chance if he has been ill, and send him to the Charity Organisation Society again. But if he comes habitually we do not admit him.



1,081. In one part of the report it says the inmates come from all parts of the United Kingdom. That is so?—Yes.

1,082. Don't you think it is rather an inducement for people to come from all parts of the United Kingdom?—I do not think they hear of it till they come to London.

1,083. Do you think that refuges have a tendency to increase the evil we want to do away with?—The more refuges you have the more people come.

1,084. But you are increasing the very evil you want to do away with?—We have not increased our operations for the last forty years.

1,085. What kind of work do you give them?—Make them do the housework, send them out to clubs to collect food.

1,086. It is not very laborious work?—Oh, no.

1,087. During the severe weather did you have very many more applications for dinners at your soup kitchen?—A great many more families than usual. We went up to 612 families on the register, there were only 550 before.

1,088. Have you any idea whether your hospice could be improved in management, either by co-operation with the casual ward or other refuges in London?—Well, we are working in some measure with the casual ward. I have arranged with the superintendent to send me cases that seem fit to take in. Sometimes I have cases sent from the City of London casual ward by the Charity Organisation Committee.

1,089. Are there many cases amongst your applicants that are helpable cases?—Yes, the bulk of them. We should not take them in unless they were capable of earning their own livelihood.

By Mr. GARDNER.

1,090. What number of these cases would be recurrent, come again and again?—Perhaps a dozen a year.

1,091. Not more than that?—No.

(Miss TILLARD remarked that she had gone over the returns, and the recurrent cases were much fewer than she expected. She could give the exact number.)

1,092. I believe, Mr. Stevens, you are a very good judge of the looks of these fellows when they apply—I mean as to the drink question?—Yes, I think so.

1,093. Also, whether they are *bond fide* working men; do you find any difficulty in spotting the real working man?—One can soon tell what a man is like in five minutes' conversation. He would not be in the house many days before I found out what he was. I should ask him questions and soon trap him.

1,094. I am talking of the preliminary check?—I could tell by the look of the man.

1,095. There is no separate accommodation, no single rooms?—No. dormitories with ten beds in each.

By Mr. STAPYLTON.

1,096. You see them when they come in?—Yes.

1,097. Do you see them again the same night?—Yes, the same night.

1,098. I suppose there is not very much to be done?—I send them down to get some food. Then they go to the bath and wash their shirts. I see them again after and talk to them. I have good opportunity of knowing a tramp.

1,099. Do you get many to work—do you know what number?—I forget. Refer to the Report.

1,100. I mean roughly?—Mr. Allen, reading from the report, said that 117 found employment out of 292; to 25 the Charity Organisation Society made grants of money; 6 were sent to Convalescent Homes by the Charity Organisation Society; 4 to hospitals, infirmaries, &c.; 5 emigrated; 11 returned to their countries, &c., and 4 went to sea.

1,101. Then I suppose you think that no tramp has a chance of getting within your doors?—Tramps are not all bad.

1,102. What evidence do you have that they get work in these numbers; do you go to employers?—No, I do not interfere with employers. We know that they get work sometimes, because they leave before their time is up.

*By* Miss TILLARD.

1,103. I should like to know what is your opinion about men getting work, whether you think it better to try to get men work, or that they should get it for themselves. If a man gets work through private interest he must be displacing somebody else?—The question is to me whether there is work for all the people in London, especially in the building trade.

1,104. Do you call carrying boards getting employment—do you put that down as employment obtained?—No, hardly. I do not put down board-carrying as employment.

*By* Mr. BOURNE.

1,105. You say you do not think Ham Yard attracts people from the country. Don't you think people in the country read your letters in the *Echo*?—Possibly.

1,106. Do you recollect the case of a man, a gardener, who was at Ham Yard, and was sent thence to the Charity Organisation Society, who got him work, I think by means of an advertisement, as a gardener in the country. He kept his place in the country for some time, and as soon as he was out of work came straight back to Ham Yard and wanted you to get him work again?—I do not recollect it.

1,107. Don't you recollect another case of a man who went to Australia, and on getting out of work, worked his passage home and came straight back to Ham Yard to be taken care of?—Very likely he came to look up old friends.

1,108. Are you aware that puddings at about the time of your distribution have been sold cheap at a public house in the neighbourhood of Ham Yard?—Not our puddings. I don't think that is likely, they are too much appreciated. One year I made inquiry concerning all the families to whom we gave Christmas dinners, and there was only one case where it went wrong.

*By* Mr. HEDLEY.

1,109. Do they on their admission get clean sheets?—Yes.

1,110. That have not been slept in before?—Possibly they might have been slept in before. The sheets are changed every Monday, and a man may be admitted in the interval. In that case of course he would not have clean sheets until the Monday following.

1,111. If they come dirty you send them to the vagrant ward?—Yes.

1,112. There are a large number of persons whom you state in your report to have gone to work, have you any record to show how long they have kept their places?—No.



1,113. Mr. STEVENS proceeded to give an instance of a number of men who some years ago lost a job in succession through giving way to drink, and he also instanced one case in which it appeared that a man, a grocer's assistant, had turned over a new leaf and qualified as a journeyman painter, earning his 9*d.* an hour. On the whole he thought that the men who did retain their situations were in the minority.

By Mr. VALPY.

1,114. You do not think it is at all difficult to pick out cases that are likely to be helped with good results from among these people?—You cannot say how they will turn out; you can only pick out likely ones.

1,115. It is not difficult to pick out likely ones?—No.

1,116. Were you one of those who helped on Mr. Kitto's Committee in selecting from St. Giles' casual ward? They selected ninety-eight out of nearly 1,000 cases, and were only able to help twenty-two; that shows a great difficulty in selecting, does it not?—Yes.

By Mr. ALLEN.

1,117. I want to be quite clear about this. You stated in answer to my question that most of the people were *bonâ fide* working men, now you have just told us that out of thirty-three you got work for—?—That was fifteen years ago, before we had anything to do with the Charity Organisation Society. Many good workmen are unfortunately drunkards, but keep in work.

1,118. You were saying that you do not think there is sufficient work in London for all to find employment; my experience goes to show that no respectable able-bodied workman need be out of work in London.—There are a lot of people competing for every situation.

By Miss TILLARD.

1,119. I gather from what you said that you consider that the class of men have improved since you have sent them to the Charity Organisation Society for investigation?—I should say so.

1,120. Because the other class would keep away?—A lot of people used to come, some with tickets, some without. I tried hard to find them work. I have been there nineteen years now.

By Mr. ALLEN.

1,121. Has the class of persons improved since you have been there?—Well, yes. I should say the refuge class are a little better, but not much.

By Miss TILLARD.

1,122. Should you say the same class of men go to the refuges as to the casual wards, or are they a different class altogether?—They go about from one to the other, or to lodgings when they can.

By Mr. GASKELL.

1,123. Do many of the men who come to you say they have been to other refuges?—Yes, I invariably ask them.

By Miss TILLARD.

1,124. Have the majority been to other refuges or not?—Yes, I also get a good many from the Victoria Home, Peter Street, and St. Olave's Chambers. Lodging-houses generally, some from private lodgings.

## EVIDENCE TAKEN FEBRUARY 27, 1891.

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*Present*—Mr. J. H. ALLEN, *in the Chair*.

Mr. W. E. FRANKS.

Miss TILLARD.

„ H. C. BOURNE.

„ H. L. HAMILTON

„ A. DUNN GARDNER.

(for Rev. W. H. Hunt).

„ R. A. VALPY.

Mr. E. BUCHANAN.

„ J. SOUTHALL.

„ R. HEDLEY.

„ H. STAPYLTON.

Miss C. L. HAMILTON (*Visitor*).

„ S. A. HANKEY.

Mr. G. E. P. GASKELL, *Secretary*.

*Police Inspector F. BECKLEY, B Division.*

*Examined by Mr. J. H. ALLEN, Chairman.*

1,125. What district are you in, Mr. Beckley?—B Division.

1,126. What districts of London does that cover?—We take in part of South Kensington, West Kensington, Chelsea, Eaton Square, and all that district.

1,127. What are the police regulations in force with regard to homeless people met in the streets at night? Are there any printed regulations for constables to act upon?—We work under the Act, which states that any constable may conduct, personally, to the casual ward and workhouse any person he shall find destitute, wayfarers or tramps; and if there is room they are bound to receive him.

1,128. Do you ever conduct them to refuges?—No, never.

1,129. That is not part of your duty?—No.

1,130. In your Division I suppose, as a rule, you hardly come across many?—There were thirty-seven during the year 1890. They are mostly migratory from other districts, not resident in the neighbourhood. They were found destitute or ill.

1,131. Thirty-seven in one year were reported to you by constables?—Yes.

1,132. What time at night—about—would that be?—Between midnight and 3 A.M.

1,133. Of course the generality of homeless persons would have got into a refuge or casual ward long before that time as a rule?—Yes.



1,134. Are these people countrymen, ignorant of the ways of London? No; they are a class of persons who are found in one workhouse to-night and take a tramp through London and are found in another workhouse the next night.

1,135. Then these thirty-seven people were of that class and could have found shelter if they had chosen?—Yes.

1,136. Were they men or women?—Mostly men.

1,137. Were they men in the prime of life—able-bodied?—Persons from 30 to 50.

1,138. Not younger than that?—No.

1,139. What do you suppose is their object in staying out in the streets?—Well, if a person is found in the streets and taken by a constable to the workhouse they must admit him if there is room, but, on the other hand, if they went by themselves they might be refused admission, unless they had got an order from the relieving officer. [The constable's authority, the witness stated, was derived from 28 & 29 Vic. c. 34, s. 4, which was as follows: 'Any constable of the Metropolitan Police may personally conduct any destitute wayfarer, wanderer, or foundling, or other destitute person, not having committed or being charged with any offence punishable by law, within the knowledge of such constable, to any wards or other places of reception approved of by the Poor-law Board, under the said Act (27 & 28 Vic. c. 116—Poor Relief, Metropolis) or this Act; and every such wayfarer, wanderer, or foundling shall, if there be room in such wards or other places of reception, be temporarily relieved therein.']

1,140. Among these cases have you ever found a difficulty in getting them into the workhouse?—None whatever. The workhouse authorities always take them either at Kensington or Chelsea.

1,141. Can you give me any idea of the class of men that would be amongst these thirty-seven men? Would they be countrymen or Londoners?—Well, as far as the police have ascertained from inquiry made into their antecedents, they had neither relations nor friends. I could not judge whether countrymen or Londoners.

1,142. Do they come before you?—No, not necessarily. It is reported to me in the morning.

1,143. Should you say any of them were old soldiers?—Not to my knowledge.

*By* Miss TILLARD.

1,144. You would not have much opportunity of knowing —Not unless they stated so.

1,145. I suppose if a constable sees a man walking along the street he has no power to interfere with him?—He would be guided by the surrounding circumstances. If he looked ill or destitute, he might be led to speak to him, but he would not ordinarily interfere with a man walking along the street.

1,146. Is it a fact that a good many of these homeless people stay out because there is more to be picked up by way of begging and so on at night than there is in the daytime?—They cannot so easily be detected at night.

1,147. Do any of these people ask the way to refuges in preference to casual wards?—No, nothing of that kind. In our Division there are no refuges.

1,148. In fact, the number you come across are very few?—Very few

indeed. I suppose in the Division we have not got such a thing as a homeless person.

1,149. You would say that no homeless person need be wandering about at night?—He would be taken to the workhouse or casual ward.

1,150. In your conversation with these men have they given any reason for being in such a state of destitution?—No, never; they always show a great antipathy to the workhouse.

1,151. Are they men who have been brought down through drink, should you think?—We never ask them these questions.

*By Mr. HANKEY.*

1,152. I take it from what you tell us that these people would not accept work?—I am of that opinion.

1,153. In fact, that they belong to the regular loafing class?—Yes, and from conversation with them and with masters of workhouses, who know these men well, they get round the workhouses in London about once in six weeks.

1,154. Do you recognise some of the faces?—I don't personally, but most of the workhouse people know them.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

1,155. In your Division there are very few working men actually?—No.

1,156. You would not be likely to find many homeless poor wanting employment?—No; I know of no cases. We have not a resident in the Division; they are all migratory from other districts.

*By Mr. GARDNER.*

1,157. If a man objected to go to the workhouse, have you power to force him there?—We should charge him then as being destitute, without visible means of subsistence. He would be taken before a magistrate, who would order him to the workhouse.

*By Mr. STAPYLTON.*

1,158. Supposing he said he did not want any assistance?—We should not allow him to stay on door-steps, because it is an offence (under the Houseless Poor Act) to sleep in the open air.

1,159. But still one sees plenty of people sleeping in Hyde Park?—That is not in the B Division.

1,160. I suppose there are constables there?—Yes.

1,161. Would they arrest these people for sleeping on the benches?—They could order them off—the same as in the public streets.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

1,162. Does your Division include the district known as the Potteries?—No.



*By* MISS TILLARD.

1,163. Have you come across more or less this winter, do you think?—Well, as far as my experience goes, we have had less. In fact, the workhouse master says he has had less this winter than in previous ones. He attributed that to the refuges being open. We do not question; we simply enforce the Act.

*By* MR. VALPY.

1,164. It is always considered advisable that a police officer should not question?—We do not question.

1,165. Do you come across homeless children in your Division?—I have not known a case for eighteen months, that was the winter before last. There was a man and one little one standing at the corner of a street. They were conveyed to the workhouse.

1,166. Do you attribute that state of things to the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act? Do you think that has had anything to do with it?—There is no doubt it has deterred people from bringing children into the streets, for they are as well acquainted with these Acts as we are.

1,167. There are no common lodging-houses in your Division?—Yes there are.

1,168. Do you think it would be possible to put into operation that section of 16 & 17 Vic. c. 41 which empowers local authorities 'to require the keepers of lodging-houses, in which beggars or vagrants are received to lodge, to fill up a schedule of information regarding every person who has resorted to such house during the preceding day or night?'—I think it would be impossible to put it in force.

1,169. I believe it is not enforced?—I do not know.

*By* MR. BUCHANAN.

1,170. Why is it that men sleeping in the Park between ten and eleven o'clock on a summer's day cannot be arrested?—I would rather you ask the officer of the A Division that question.

*By* MR. GASKELL.

1,171. Your Division, you say, includes West Kensington. There I suppose you would take people to Fulham Workhouse?—We go no further than Stamford Bridge and Lillie Bridge. We do not go on the other side.

1,172. Do you usually take them to the workhouse or to the casual ward?—We take them to the workhouse, and leave it to the authorities to do what they like.

*Inspector* E. ELLISDON, *H Division.*

*Examined by* MR. ALLEN, *Chairman.*

1,173. You are an Inspector of the H Division?—Yes.

1,174. Over what districts does that Division extend?—Nearly the whole of Whitechapel, part of Bethnal Green and Stepney, Limchouse and Spitalfields.

1,175. A very large portion of the East End?—Yes.

1,176. Is it a very large Division?—Not particularly large, not larger than others. We do not go into the City. I am attached to the Commercial Street section.

1,177. Have you had many cases of persons reported to you by constables as being homeless at night?—No, very few.

1,178. Take during the last winter, had you many then?—I only know of one case to my own knowledge.

1,179. And yet you would say that in your district probably there would be more than in any other part of London?—I think they go elsewhere.

1,180. Have you been long in this Division?—Five years.

1,181. In previous years have there been more?—I cannot recollect. It is not a thing that often occurs at all.

1,182. One would imagine—because there are a good many homeless people in London—that they all got into refuges and casual wards at six or seven o'clock at night?—Yes; we have one refuge in Raven Row which is always full. A large number go into lodging-houses, and there are a certain number of people out all night long.

1,183. Do you come across these?—Oh, yes, in Spitalfields.

1,184. How do they manage?—There are very few in the severe weather.

1,185. Are they out all night long on purpose?—Yes.

1,186. What do you suppose that is for—for thieving?—I do not think they would be very particular if they had the opportunity.

1,187. Are they Londoners, or countrymen not knowing London?—I should say more like people brought up and living all their lives in lodging-houses.

1,188. Of course, you say there are a good many lodging-houses in your district; but then these people must have money to pay or they could not go there?—Yes.

1,189. Are this class of people who sleep out able-bodied men and women?—Yes; they do not sleep out, as a matter of fact, except in the summer. Spitalfields Church is much frequented by them. I have seen as many as thirty or forty having a nap there. They prefer that to the lodging-houses in the summer. In the winter they walk about.

1,190. I suppose these men would probably be out for the purpose of picking up something? Do the constables ever ask them why they are out late?—Well, these men may have no money, but they won't have any conversation with a policeman. They walk away. In some lodging-houses they allow them to be in the kitchen until two o'clock in the morning, and then turn them out, and go in again at four.

1,191. Why is that?—So that they should not stop in the kitchen and use that instead of paying for a bed.

1,192. Do you visit lodging-houses?—No.

1,193. You said that a great many of your people—regular habitual tramps and vagrants—would go to the West End?—I think so, because they would be able to pick up more than by remaining in Spitalfields.

1,194. But then I presume it would not much prevent their staying out in the streets after one or two o'clock; at least, I should imagine not?—I have come across people with admission tickets for refuges, which they would use as a means of getting money. They would stop a gentleman and ask the nearest way of getting to the place, which would probably result in their obtaining money.

1,195. And these are fairly quiet people, who do not come out to row?



Do you have trouble with any of them?—There are often a number of charges—they are found drunk. As soon as they get any money, it goes in drink; then they get noisy and get locked up.

1,196. Then your evidence comes to this, that you know of only one case that the police have taken up during the last winter?—I recollect another case, that of a man who had lost all his money and had got delirium tremens. We sent him to the workhouse.

1,197. You are of opinion that there is no occasion for persons to sleep out unless they prefer it?—I think so. I think those who do sleep out do so for a purpose.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

1,198. Should I be right in dividing the poor into tramps and beggars? And those people who sell penny things about the streets—hawkers? And then there is another class who are destitute and unemployed?—Yes, that is so.

1,199. That would be a fair division?—I think it is.

1,200. And the first two, tramps and beggars, find their way to casual wards or are taken there?—I think the habitual tramp would be more likely to go to a common lodging-house.

1,200A. Yes, if he had any money; but we have evidence that casual wards are filled with tramps. Then these hucksters; they, of course, earn money and sleep in lodging-houses. Then we come upon another class upon which you are not able to give us any evidence, the unemployed or half-employed, who live from hand to mouth. Now there are a great many of these who don't come under your observation, whom you don't charge with any crime, who are not noisy people and don't stroll about. They must have a night's lodging somewhere. They are not found on the streets?—If they were to tell us they had no lodging and nothing to do, we should take them to the casual ward.

1,201. You do not come into contact with them in any way. There are a large number of persons who are in London, many from the country—many in London who do not get occupation to pay for a night's lodging—they do not come in your way?—Well, I should think they are the class of men who live in the Victoria Home.

1,202. That is just what I want to get at. These persons—they commit no crime—are found in these refuges at five or six o'clock in the evening?—At the only refuge that I am aware of they admit between four and five o'clock at night, but I am not acquainted with refuges.

1,203. You do not visit them?—We do not.

1,204. Have you ever had occasion to send to a refuge—to take away a man charged with a crime?—No, not to my recollection.

1,205. If you were to meet a man who was homeless who had come from the country, with nowhere to sleep, would you advise him to go to a casual ward where he would have to work in the morning for an hour or two, or advise him to go to a refuge where he would get out in time to find work?—Certainly, if I knew of a refuge where there was a vacancy I should prefer sending him there.

1,206. Now, with regard to the lodging-houses, would not you think it would be better for a man to go to a quiet refuge where he would be protected from the foul language he hears and the low company he meets in lodging-houses?—I should think so. I should think a refuge would be better than the lowest lodging houses—there is such a difference in lodging-houses.

1,207. Still some lodging-houses, I suppose, in your locality are very bad?—Very bad, indeed—as bad as they can be.

1,208. It would be a serious thing on that account for a man to find himself there?—Yes, very bad, I suppose, for him.

1,209. And yet if the refuge simply offered him a piece of bread to eat and water to drink and a place to sleep you think it would be a far better place to go to?—I think so certainly, but, if these places are thrown open, all would make use of them; they would be made use of by people whether they had money or not, and that, I think, would be an abuse of charity.

*By Mr. HANKEY.*

1,210. I think I may understand from what you say that you do recognise respectable, partially employed sort of people as a distinct class in the community?—Certainly.

1,211. And as quite separate and distinct from tramps altogether?—Yes, because there are blind beggars and such like. You do no good for them. At the Victoria Home they keep a register. You can always ascertain from them whether a man has slept there, but in the others they don't know anything at all about it. As regards men being out at night, we may meet a man one night and not again all the winter.

*By Mr. GARDNER.*

1,212. From your personal knowledge can you say whether this respectable class walk about at night?—I cannot say. I have never noticed one man walking about two nights in succession. There are certain men in the locality who do certain things which would lead a casual observer to think they were always out—men who call others in the morning.

1,213. In that neighbourhood respectable people are in and out at night?—Just so. The market porters, for example, are out very early in the morning; men, too, who look after the carts and get them ready for the horses to come out. You cannot say they are houseless or homeless.

*By Mr. STAPYLTON.*

1,214. About Spitalfields Church, I daresay many of them are looking for work?—I daresay some would be. It is only in the summer time.

1,215. Are there many casual ward people?—No, I don't think so. I think they are a class who would have money to go to a lodging-house, but the lodging-houses are close and hot, and they prefer sitting out. They would not be homeless. The police move them off, but they merely walk round the other side, and, as soon as his back is turned, they are there again.

1,216. Do you think there are no good lodging-houses in your district?—Yes.

1,217. None equal the Victoria Home?—No, none.

1,218. Not so large?—No; they are tolerably well conducted, respectable—*e.g.*, they would not allow anything wrong as at Flower and Dean Street.

1,219. They are in communication with the police?—Yes; they won't let them in after a certain time at night; they have to take a ticket for their bed during the day; they make it a rule not to let anybody in after two o'clock in the morning.



*By Mr. HEDLEY.*

1,220. What is the lowest price for single beds?—Fourpence.

1,221. Have you any large blocks in that district built for the artisan class with public staircases?—Yes, several.

1,222. Are these staircases used as sleeping places at night?—Yes, I think so.

1,223. Would the police take any cognisance?—No, sir. The staircase is part of the building, and the police have no right to interfere.

1,224. I understand that you recognise a large number of people who are never in permanent employment, but who pick up a precarious living, honestly or dishonestly as the case may be?—Yes, but mostly dishonestly.

*By Mr. BOURNE.*

1,225. You have no personal knowledge of any free refuges?—Providence Row, or Raven Row as we call it.

1,226. Of course Banner Street is some little way out of your district?—I do not know anything of it except that I have seen persons waiting to go in.

1,227. From your knowledge should you say that they are a distinct class from those who go to casual wards?—I should think not from their appearance.

1,228. And should you say that it would not be possible to exclude the casual class except by elaborate inquiry?—I should think not.

*By Mr. BARNARD.*

1,229. The Victoria Home is not a charity, is it?—No, sir.

1,230. What would be the effect of taking a crowd of men in anyhow to a refuge without inquiry?—I think that a class of persons would take advantage of it who did not need it.

1,231. Would honest men mix up with such a crowd?—I cannot say. During the severe weather there was a great deal of charity, and I was told by a lodging-house keeper that ladies and gentlemen have given away tickets for double beds, and these tickets, each costing eightpence, have been sold for twopence or threepence in the kitchen of the lodging-house. The same with bread and coal tickets.

1,232. But what I mean is, from your knowledge of working men, do you suppose that working men would mix up with the sort who go to a free refuge?—No, certainly not. It would be the loafer who would take advantage of it. I think the really deserving poor are usually unknown; they keep their troubles to themselves.

*By Mr. FRANKS.*

1,233. I think you said you did not know much about the working class?—We have a working class population in Bethnal Green.

*By Mr. VALPY.*

1,234. You say that in your opinion the inmates of common lodging-houses would be tempted to make use of free refuges?—Yes, I think so. Many years ago we used to give out tickets at the police station. At that time we used to fill up the casual ward night after night. Well, then there was

some alteration in the Poor Law, in which they could keep a man for three days. Now the superintendent of the casual ward informs me that, whereas they used to have sixty or seventy a night, now they don't get ten a week, because of the task of work.

1,235. It would be equally difficult to distinguish these common lodging-house inmates from casuals as it is to distinguish an honest workman?—Just so.

1,236. Unless permission was given by the superintendent of the refuge, you would have no right to enter?—Not unless we were following a man and saw him enter. If we only have suspicion that a man is there, we get permission.

1,237. If you failed to get that permission, you would have to get a warrant?—Yes.

1,238. Some three or four years ago there was a list of refuges posted up at night outside the police station. Can you tell me whether that has been discontinued?—There has been no order to discontinue it. I believe the cards are still in the station, but they are not posted up outside.

1,239. What do you think? Is it an advisable thing to try?—I think it is needed for the information of the police; I should scarcely think it was for the public. If a person is really as destitute as some contend, he should not object to go to the police station.

1,240. The effect of putting up this notice outside a police station for the information of the public would be to inform these common lodging-house people, and tramps and casuals, where they could easily get a night's shelter?—It would, but I don't think it would make much difference; they soon find out these places.

*By Mr. BUCHANAN.*

1,241. In regard to the Victoria Home, you are quite aware that it is a private enterprise, and not started for making a profit?—Oh, certainly, it is on a different principle.

1,242. Do you think there is a want in London for what I might call model common lodging-houses?—I think so.

1,243. I mean not a dividend-paying concern, like the ordinary common lodging-houses, some of which make a profit of from 25 to 30 per cent. Now, it is an extraordinary thing that these low common lodging-houses pay such large percentages. There is a company that is endeavouring to solve the problem of starting lodging-houses all over London. From the first the enterprise has not been particularly successful. Their shareholders would be quite content with a dividend of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 3 per cent., but the difficulty is, if you put these lodging-houses in the really lowest of low places—it is my experience so far—these low people do not care to go into a clean place, and where, although you are not very strict, you cannot allow them to use language simply demoralising to everybody.—Yes; I fancy, when they are from the lowest society, by having more respectable people you give persons an opportunity of ruining themselves.

1,244. You think the only good the model common lodging-house can do is to prevent their getting in the very low?—Yes; it is quite hopeless to try and better them.

1,245. Are you prepared to say that there is a want in London of good common lodging-houses?—Those who think they are going to get the lowest to come in are really visionaries.



*By Mr. VALPY.*

1,246. Do you mean the large model common lodging-house in Commercial Street?—That is the one—the Victoria Home.

*By Mr. BUCHANAN.*

1,247. With regard to these tickets, would you recommend that plan?—Yes, I think so in the daytime.

1,248. I mean to issue them just like food tickets are issued—to give away?—No, I would not suggest that.

1,249. How would you suggest that tickets should be used? Do you think it would be good or bad if given to proper persons who would not give them to everybody, but to those they knew?—Yes.

1,250. Then if these tickets were issued you would recommend that they are only entrusted to responsible people who are dealing with homeless cases?—They would be in a better position.

1,251. For example, to clergymen and anyone who comes into contact with homeless people, you think it would be a good thing to provide them with books of tickets?—I think it could not do much harm; a minister would know to whom he was giving them.

*By Miss TILLARD.*

1,252. How could the clergyman know anything about homeless cases?—The CHAIRMAN: It is a different class, a better class—temporarily out of work.

*By Mr. ALLEN.*

1,253. You think it would be a good plan if it was done with safeguards?—Just so.

*By Mr. BARNARD.*

1,254. Don't you think improper people would make a practice of collecting these tickets and selling them in common lodging-houses at a discount?—Of course, I have known this class of character. There are certain men in the City who go from bank to bank collecting hospital tickets.

1,255. Do you suppose that man is able to sell those tickets?—I should think so.

1,256. Where do you suppose they are sold?—The principal thing is he first gets his patient, and then looks after a ticket for that particular patient.

*By Mr. BUCHANAN.*

1,257. Is it your opinion that supposing a company were started and that the directors, assisted, we will say, by persons connected with the Charity Organisation Society, and, therefore, well enough aware of the difficulties of the Poor Law—you think if a company of that kind were started that—or rather do you think it is desirable that a company of that kind should be started?—No, sir, I do not.

1,258. I think I have told you that common lodging-houses pay 25 or 30 per cent., and I am quite certain that if 3 per cent. could be guaranteed there would be any amount of capital forthcoming?—Just so.

1,259. I want to know whether there is a demand, and they could be filled?—I do not think so.

1,260. And why not?—I don't see where you are going to find the tenants. There's a number now not full. I never heard that the Commercial Street Home was full, and where are we going to get these from.

*By Mr. GASKELL.*

1,261. Are there any philanthropic lodging-houses in your district besides?—I know of none.

1,262. Are there any of General Booth's labour shelters?—Yes; one for women in Hanbury Street and one for men in the Whitechapel Road.

1,263. Do you know anything about these refuges at all?—Nothing, but I have seen women go there.

1,264. Do the same class go there that go to the common lodging houses?—No, a far better class; women who seem to be more like charwomen.

1,265. With regard to the fewness of the people your constables have to take to the casual ward, do you think it would be due to the fact that that class of people know the way for themselves?—Naturally.

1,266. And to the refuge?—Yes, certainly. Plenty, I believe, have been in both.

*Inspector JAMES LEVETT, M Division.*

*Examined by Mr. J. H. ALLEN, Chairman.*

1,267. What is the area of your Division?—Roughly speaking, it extends from Blackfriars Bridge, New and Old Kent Roads to the Canal, and along the Canal to the back of the Docks, taking all between that and the river side.

1,268. Yours, of course, is almost entirely a working man's Division?—You may say so entirely.

1,269. Now, during this last winter, have the police constables reported many cases of persons whom they have had to direct to the workhouse?—Very few. I should say we have four Sub-divisions, and, from inquiry I have made, I should think thirty would cover the whole.

1,270. A constable is instructed to assist and take them on?—Yes.

1,271. Did you see these thirty people yourself?—I have seen a fair number of them, no doubt.

1,272. What class were they?—As a rule, they are what you might call ne'er-do-wells.

1,273. Occasionally, no doubt, you would get a working man, perhaps unfortunate and unable to get work?—No doubt, but there are not many who have not enough to pay for their lodging at night.

1,274. Do you come across many of these?—Not many. The number of people that we do see in that position might be 20 per cent.—men that you might classify as honest working men.

1,275. What is a constable's duty with regard to these. Does he make any difference?—We have no refuges in our Division; he has no option. He would direct them all to the casual ward or workhouse.

1,276. Still it would not be very far for them to come across London Bridge to Banner Street?—No, but I don't think any of our people know these places, as a matter of fact.

1,277. Would they be able-bodied?—20 per cent., perhaps, or they could not be classified as working men.

1,278. They are chiefly men?—Mostly men.

1,279. Very few women and children?—No children.